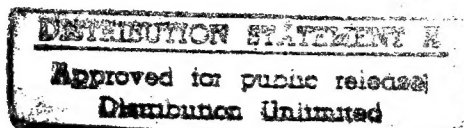


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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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12 February 1985

USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S.-PAKISTAN TIES SEEN AS THREAT TO SOUTH ASIA, PERSIAN GULF

NC191222 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1800 GMT 18 Dec 84

[Commentary by Vasiliy Alekseyev]

[Text] Washington's policy regarding Pakistan is causing increasing concern and apprehension among countries in South and Southwest Asia and in the Indian Ocean area. Washington is encouraging the Pakistani regime's great militaristic ambitions. The U.S. administration is increasing its delivery of aircraft, tanks and artillery to Pakistan. For example, among the weapons delivered to Pakistan are F-16 fighters which can carry nuclear arms, harpoon sea missiles, and the most modern types of air-to-air missiles.

As stated by military observers, the volume and quality of weapons that the U.S. administration and other countries are delivering to Pakistan are far greater than that country's defense needs, especially when we consider the fact that no danger is threatening Pakistan's borders. Thus, the question that naturally arises is: What objective is Washington--which is arming Pakistan's military regime more than enough--pursuing, and what role is allocated to Pakistan in the U.S. scenario of growth and development in Asia in particular, and in the world in general?

In this connection, what one primarily sees is the U.S. administration's efforts to alter the existing stability of forces on the subcontinent. It is not accidental that imperialist propaganda is fanning the flames and amplifying the tale of the threat to Pakistan from the East, meaning India. India's rage over such forgeries by U.S. media organs is very understandable. Moreover, various anti-Indian groups are trying--through terrorist operations and secessionist moves--to weaken and divide peace-loving India and thus diminish the importance of India as a powerful element for peace and stability in the region, so that they can set up a foothold in Pakistan.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger says that without a Pakistan which is not confident in its forces, resistance in Afghanistan will be defeated. This is how Pakistan's role in yet another aspect of the U.S. administration's foreign policy is spelled out. In this connection, Pakistan is used especially as a base for the undeclared war that is being waged against the DRA; and this too is one of the duties that the U.S. administration has allocated to Pakistan in its plans to establish control and supervision over a vast area extending from Japan to the Persian Gulf and to east Africa.

We thus see that the U.S. administration's policy on Pakistan is increasingly turning this country into a source of tension in this part of the world, that this policy is harming the basic interests of the Pakistani people, and that it is creating a threat for the independence and sovereignty of neighboring countries as well as for peace in Asia and throughout the world.

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to the Pakistani navy of a virtually unlimited quantity of the U.S. Harpoon ship-borne missiles. We see that the list of weapons already received by Pakistan and planned for delivery is extremely long. Notwithstanding, while in Islamabad General Vessey held talks about further expansion. It is a matter, in particular, of giving the Pakistani air force aircraft like the F-15 fighter-interdictor.

Naturally the question arises as to why Washington is literally "pouring" the most up-to-date weaponry into that country. The answer must be sought in the plans that the U.S. imperialists are hatching for south and southwest Asia and the role that they are assigning to Pakistan in the realization of these plans.

It should be remembered that with the fall of the pro-U.S. regime of the shah in Iran the United States was left with virtually no bridgehead in southwest Asia. But how, they argued in Washington, is it possible to be left with no "American supervision" over such an extensive and strategically important region? And the United States hurriedly began to build up its naval presence in the Indian Ocean, converting the base on the island of Diego Garcia into a powerful strongpoint. The construction of military bases was started in Oman, Kenya and Somalia, that could be used as jumping-off points in the event of the dispatch there of the interventionist rapid deployment forces. And these 200,000-strong forces themselves would, in the words of Pentagon chief Weinberger, be "automatically" sent to this region. Then a special U.S. Special Central Command (Centcom) was set up. The sphere of its activities covers the territory of 19 states in southwest Asia, and also east Africa. By asserting its military presence in the region the United States is taking aim at extensive regions of the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf.

In order to threaten Iran, expand the scale of the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan and blackmail India, U.S. strategists have decided to "open up" Pakistan and take advantage of its geographic position. The stream of U.S. weapons pouring into Pakistan has given the Pentagon access to Pakistan's naval bases. The Pentagon has also received permission to set up electronic tracking stations in Pakistan to collect intelligence information, and also strategic military reserves to support the rapid deployment force.

There is no doubt that the United States knows what it is doing by passing all kinds of new batches of offensive weapons to Pakistan. The experience of past decades shows that Pakistan has already three times fanned the flames of conflict on the south Asian subcontinent. And this time it also serves the interests of the United States. India's peace-loving policy acts as a barrier against the realization of U.S. imperialism's hegemonic plans in south Asia. Hence Washington's stake on a militarily "strong" Pakistan and the encouragement of its rulers' militarist ambitions.

There is concern in India about the militarist preparations in Pakistan, which exceed its defensive needs several times over. And this is quite understandable. The more so since the United States is resorting to various behind-the-scenes maneuvers so as to whip up Pakistan's hostile attitude toward neighboring India. One graphic example of this was a public statement made by the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad, Hinton. He provocatively announced that "the United

terrorists are trained under the leadership of U.S., Pakistani and Egyptian instructors before being sent into Afghanistan. Moreover, the interference in Afghan affairs conducted from Pakistan's territory with the active support of the authorities, has recently markedly increased. The number of centers for the training of sabotage gangs is growing. At the same time the murky stream of lies and insinuations against the Soviet Union, designed to distort the true essence of its policy in Afghanistan and the aims of the limited contingent of Soviet troops present there, is swelling.

The peace-loving initiatives that Kabul has repeatedly put forward are opening up a realistic path to the normalization of the Afghan situation. But it is precisely this that is not to the liking of imperialist circles, which are deliberately exacerbating the situation in southwest and south Asia. And Pakistan is doing its bit in these dangerous actions. According to a Bakhtar agency report, the Islamabad regime, with the support of the administration in Washington, intends to embark on a practical realization of the threats against Afghanistan. Thus, the Pakistani minister of foreign affairs Yaqub Khan recently announced directly that Islamabad is prepared to invade targets on Afghan territory.

Finally, attention should be drawn to yet another aspect of U.S.-Pakistani military cooperation. According to the Indian weekly LINK, the military regime in Islamabad and its patrons from across the ocean, complicating the Afghanistan situation in any way possible, are counting on finding a justification for the plan being hatched by the Pentagon to deploy U.S. Pershing-2 first-strike nuclear missiles on Pakistan's territory. Thus, yet another of Washington's sinister plans becomes clear: to deploy its own Pershings close to the southern borders of the USSR.

It is impossible not to see that in this region, as in many others also, in trying to assert its hegemony, the United States is relying on an antipopular regime. Of course, Pakistan's favorable geographic position and its readiness to force through militarization have also played a role in Washington's decision to make its stake on that country. But the readiness of Islamabad's rulers to become a champion of U.S. policy in south and southwest Asia and with the aid of cruel repression to suppress the acts of its own opponents within the country, have also played a role here, and by no means a minor one. The unpopularity of the present regime in Pakistan, which relies solely on military force and support from its patron across the ocean, is, therefore, quite understandable. Major actions by the workers have forced the regime to maneuver. The regime's boss has repeatedly promised to hold general elections, but when the date approaches they are always postponed. Under the slogan of the Islamization of the life of society General Zia-ul-Haq is trying to prevent the restoration of democratic standards and maintain power in any way possible.

No kind of contrivance, however, can hide the fact that Islamabad is following in the wake of Washington's aggressive and adventurist policy and pursuing a course of the militarization of the country and acting as an accomplice in U.S. interference in the affairs of neighboring states. All this proves that Pakistan has been transformed into a source of tension in south and southwest Asia and that this is in the interests neither of the Pakistani people themselves nor of the other peoples living there.

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Asia is again at the cross-roads. The author draws a conclusion that the tendency to confrontation in the region and to turning ASEAN into a military political bloc, into imperialism's "cordon sanitaire" against the countries of Indochina has again gained the upper hand. But it is to be hoped that the current heightening of tension is only a temporary obstacle to peace and stability in South-East Asia, Y. Plotnikov writes. The results of the meeting of the ASEAN Standing Committee which was held in Kuala Lumpur in September and the participants in which reached an accord in principle to declare the region a zone free from nuclear weapons, in particular, give grounds to such a hope.

CSO: 1812/77-E

INTERNATIONAL

WORK OF AFRICA INSTITUTE REVIEWED ON 25TH ANNIVERSARY

Moscow APN Daily Review in English 25 Oct 84 pp 3-4

[Article under rubric "Scanning Periodicals": "Review of Journal AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 10, 1984"]

[Excerpt] An article, "Leading Centre of Soviet African Studies," is devoted to the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences. The Institute, notes the article, has now grown into a major research body known both in the Soviet Union and internationally.

It has a staff of 200 researchers, including 21 doctors and 114 candidates of science. Among Africans who took post-graduate courses and defended their dissertations here were prominent political leaders of the continent, in particular Peter Ono, now Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, ministers and top functionaries of ruling parties, university rectors, and others.

Over 600 books and pamphlets and thousands of articles, including in the magazine AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA and NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, which are the Institute's publications and enjoy a wide readership abroad, have been written and published in the Institute's 25 years of existence.

The Africa Institute has in this period made a great contribution to the work of such public organisations as the Soviet Association of Friendship with African Countries (of which the Institute is a corporate member and the Institute's director An. A. Gromyko its President), the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, the USSR Committee of Youth Organisations, the All-Union Znaniye Society, the Committee of Soviet Scientists against Nuclear Threat, and others.

Now at their intellectual peak, the article concludes, the Institute's staff seek to advance further the standards of their work, to broaden and deepen their studies, to make them serve practical ends, and to consolidate Soviet-African relations for the good of peace all over the world, which has been proclaimed the supreme goal of Soviet foreign policy.

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exacerbating the international situation even more. In this sense, we are firmly convinced that the atmosphere of anti-detente of the late 1970's considerably augmented the negative impact of the global arms race on militarization processes in the developing countries.

It was precisely during these years that the United States made the strategy of "direct confrontation" with the Soviet Union on the global and regional levels the basis of its foreign policy line and began to see any social or political demonstrations in the developing countries and the liberation struggle as the result of "USSR intrigues" which were posing a threat to the United States' so-called vital interests. Giving the "defense of national or vital interests" its own interpretation, the U.S. administration has essentially used the situation in the developing countries to attain its own geopolitical goals and to change the balance of power in its own favor.

As we know, the U.S. move from the policy of detente to intensive confrontation was officially blamed on the "unfavorable" changes that had occurred in the developing countries, allegedly through the fault of the Soviet Union, which was supposedly using detente in the 1970's for the attainment of its own goals. There is no need for a detailed discussion of Washington's absurd and obviously false opinion of processes occurring in the so-called Third World. Something else is important here: The American strategy of "direct confrontation" in Asia, Africa and Latin America and on the seas and oceans has led to the dramatic expansion of conflict zones, the exacerbation of conflicts, the considerable acceleration of the arms race and the involvement of more and more new countries and regions of the developing world in this race.

The combination of all this has created the kind of situation in the Asian, African and Latin American countries in which the connection between overall Western strategy and the global arms race with local conflicts and arms "mini-races" has become much more perceptible, has intensified the already serious instability of international relations and has strengthened its extremely negative effect on the developing countries. Between the end of World War II and 1982, there were almost 150 local armed conflicts in the world, and more than 10 million people died in these conflicts. Around 50 of these are going on at the present time, and all of them are concentrated in the zone of the national liberation movement. There is no need to prove that these seats of tension are extremely harmful to the developing states. According to the most modest estimates, the Iran-Iraq war alone has already cost hundreds of thousands of human lives and it is still going on.

For the newly liberated countries, anti-detente means their closer involvement in conflicts and a dramatic increase in their military expenditures. They rose from 27.8 billion dollars in 1970 to over 125 billion in 1982.² By 1982 the developing countries accounted for 16 percent of all world military expenditures (as compared to 7.2 percent in 1970), and in terms of the proportion accounted for by these expenditures in the GNP (5.9 percent) the developing world is ahead of the developed countries. The armies of the young states number 15 million, or 60 percent of all servicemen in the world. These countries now account for around 75 percent of all world arms imports.³

The escalation of the arms race in the developing world and the mounting confrontation between various countries have created a new grave danger--the possibility that some newly liberated states will acquire nuclear weapons. According to the data of the Brookings Institution (United States), around 15 developing countries could begin producing nuclear weapons within the near future.⁷ States with aggressive designs on their neighbors are the closest to the acquisition of these weapons. If they should acquire them, this will undermine the nonproliferation framework. This would compound the danger of nuclear war. Consequently, the world community has no reason to feel complacent about the arms "mini-races" in the developing countries.

Arms purchases are placing a heavy burden on the state budget of many newly liberated countries and are increasing the deficit in their balance of payments. All of this is obvious. By 1978 arms expenditures already accounted for around half of the deficit in current payments. In the future the expenditures of the developing countries will rise quickly and continuously. This tendency appears particularly dangerous in view of the recent IBRD prediction that the deficit in the balance of payments of developing countries will exceed 276 billion dollars in 1995. In 1983 the foreign debt of the developing countries reached the astronomical figure of almost 700 billion dollars.

Some researchers maintain that military spending does not have a serious negative effect on economic growth rates or the development of the social infrastructure in the newly liberated countries. These researchers base their conclusions only on total military expenditures and often ignore the deeper economic and social consequences of the military preparations that are radically distorting development priorities.

It is known that the military expenditures of young states contain a much larger element of "lost opportunities" than the expenditures of developed countries. There is a strong and obvious tendency: The less developed the young state's economic base is, the heavier the burden of formally unequal (in relation to the GNP) military expenditures will be and the stronger their pernicious effect on the national economy will be, because military spending in this case is accomplished at the expense of the already low relative accumulations. The developing country's own military construction intensified disparities in its economy and deforms its socioeconomic structure.

The purchasers of weapons are often the poorest countries in the world, which have an urgent need to solve pressing economic and social problems. It has been estimated, for example, that each dollar they spend on military purposes reduces investments in the national economy by 25 cents. Although the newly liberated countries are spending around 6 percent of their GNP on military needs, they are spending only 1 percent on public health services and 2.8 percent on education.⁸

Growing more and more involved in overall militarist processes, several developing countries have begun to establish their own military industry. According to the estimates of SIPRI experts, it already exists in a minimum of 30 newly liberated countries. Airplanes are now produced in 16 of them, combat vessels in 20, missiles in 8, tanks and armored personnel carriers in 5, etc.⁹

an extremely difficult or even impossible task to emerge from this state and set out on the road of socioeconomic progress. The arms race in the newly liberated countries, as an extension and an element of the global arms race, is escalating international tension, and this is inflicting absolutely tangible economic losses on the developing countries. Conversely, the relaxation of economic tension results in economic advantages on the global and regional levels. It is precisely in the interaction of detente and development that the indivisibility of today's world and the common interest of all of the world's people in preventing a new world war and stopping the senseless and wasteful arms race can be seen most clearly.

This imperative of our day is becoming increasingly apparent to people in the developing countries, where the prevailing opinion until just recently was that issues of war and peace were not of primary importance to these countries, that they would affect primarily the developed states or even would affect only the great powers. But recent events have refuted these views by demonstrating that the escalation of international tension, given the current level of military equipment, will have a direct effect on all countries and all people.

The positive changes in the views of newly liberated countries were conclusively confirmed by the seventh conference of the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi, where the defense of peace and the curtailment of the arms race were named the key foreign policy objectives of the developing countries. At the Sixth UNCTAD Session in June 1983 representatives from many developing countries stressed the connection between international security and the development of just international trade and economic cooperation. "The progress of all countries," Prime Minister I. Gandhi of India stated, "both developed and developing, will depend completely on world peace."

Although disarmament in itself cannot solve all of the socioeconomic problems of the newly liberated states, it could promote the revitalization of the particular spheres of the world economy in which many of the problems of these countries are rooted. The reduction of total military expenditures by 20 percent, according to UN experts, would not only satisfy the most urgent economic needs but would also considerably reduce the economic gap between the developed and developing countries.¹² This would provide additional resources for a significant increase in aid to the young states from industrial countries, not to mention the new opportunities connected with the reduction of the developing countries' own military budgets and the redistribution of these funds for economic and social purposes--opportunities to combat poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy.

In addition to these obvious socioeconomic benefits, disarmament would also have an exceptionally favorable psychological effect on relations between people by helping them realize their common interests. Then appeals for the joint resolution of global problems, including the socioeconomic backwardness of the developing world, would evoke a much more active response from all people on earth.

Real and specific measures to safeguard the security and peace of all people can be found in the proposals of the Soviet Union, other countries of the

8. THE ECONOMIST, 19 February 1983, p 54; "IBRD. World Development Report," 1982, p 110.
9. JEUNE AFRIQUE, 15 July 1981, p 62.
10. Calculated according to UN Doc A (8469) Rev. 1, 1978, p 56.
11. DER SPIEGEL, 1981, No 36, p 42.
12. "Mir i razoruzheniye. Nauchnyye issledovaniya" [Peace and Disarmament. Scientific Research], Moscow, 1980, p 55.

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The state began to play a much more important role in the economy. Experience proved that expanded reproduction would be impossible without its active participation. At present, from 30 to 50 percent of the final social product, and even more in some cases, is put under the ownership and at the disposal of the state, primarily with the aid of redistributive machinery.

The modernization of the economic order was accompanied by the gradual decline of the importance of traditional structures, the growth of capitalist forms of economic management in the majority of developing countries and the reinforcement of the state and cooperative sectors in the national economy of socialist-oriented states.

The changes in the WCE necessitated considerable changes in imperialism's neocolonial policy, designed to keep the developing countries as the inferior, dependent and exploited part of this economy. Total exports of capital increased considerably (from 19 billion dollars in 1970 to 89 billion in 1980--a 4.7-fold increase in current prices). Loan capital, including the cost of technology transfers and engineering services, represented 64.8 percent of all exported capital in 1981, direct investments accounted for 15.4 percent, technology transfers accounted for 12.3 percent, and engineering services accounted for 7.4 percent (as compared to respective figures of 38.6, 58.6, 0.1 and 0.4 in 1960). In other words, the export of loan capital became the main form of capital export. Whereas V. I. Lenin once described only French imperialism as usurious, now this definition applies to all world imperialism, which is distinguished primarily by this feature.*

Furthermore, official government development "aid" decreased to 35 percent of the exported capital, while private capital accounted for 65 percent of the total. And although official "aid" was extended on more preferential terms in the 1970's, the developing countries did not benefit much from it because the proportion accounted for by this aid in incoming external resources decreased in favor of credit and loans extended on commercial (market) or near-commercial terms, which were unquestionably more rigid.

Therefore, the capital of transnational banks and corporations took the dominant position in the structure of incoming resources. In general, the United States, England, Japan and the FRG account for around 84 percent of all direct private capital investments from capitalist states in the developing countries.

Obviously, various forms of capital export are closely related. For example, the extension of loans is generally connected with the export of equipment, technology transfers, the offer of consulting services, etc. Many loans are connected with purchases, and in this case the prices of the products are much higher than market prices. The percentage of "aid" completely or partially connected with purchases was 60 percent for U.S. aid, 61 percent for French aid, 53 percent for English aid and 54 percent for Japanese aid.

As mentioned above, transnational banks and corporations have become the main force for economic neocolonialism. The number of their branches in the

* V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27, p 362.

Cooperation with national capital, primarily big capital, which is monopolist by local standards, in the form of mixed companies is now viewed by the TNC's as an important condition for their continued functioning and expansion in the developing countries. This cooperation is one of the factors intensifying and accelerating monopolist processes on the periphery of the WCE.

New developments connected with the expansion of foreign capital also include the increased activity of small and medium-sized companies, backed up in many cases by large monopolist corporations. They operate in industries and spheres of the economy in which the TNC's have little interest, or in which they can react more quickly than the TNC's to changes in production and market conditions.

All of this attests to a tendency to seek forms of expansion that minimize commercial risk, preserve unchanged the neocolonial system of imperialist exploitation in the developing countries and strengthen the economic--and not only economic--attachment of the periphery to the imperialist centers.

Significant changes in the methods of economic neocolonialism are connected with the peculiar features of industrialization in the East, which is unparalleled in history because it is taking place on a much higher technical level under the influence of the technological revolution. As a result, although extensive factors still prevail in economic development, the role of intensive factors is growing. They accounted for around 10 percent in 1950-1965, they now account for around 25-27 percent, and by 1990 they could account for 36-38 percent, as compared to 60-70 percent in the industrial countries. In connection with this, the structure of accumulations on the periphery of the WCE is changing and so-called informational factors (skills, experience and knowledge) are becoming more important. In the developed capitalist countries they are equivalent to around 55-60 percent of investments in physical elements, or in fixed capital. This indicator is approximately 2-2.5 times as high as it is in the developing states, but the indicator in the latter is much higher than the Western indicator at the time of the industrial revolution and even at the end of the 19th century.

This has resulted in a new form of expansion--technological--connected with so-called technology transfers, primarily through TNC channels. This is increasing corresponding expenditures in the developing countries (they have now reached around 10-12 billion dollars, and indirect expenditures total 25-30 billion dollars) and is heightening their technological dependence. In many cases technology transfers are accompanied by the expansion of TNC positions because the firms purchasing foreign technology often pay for it with their own stock. The augmentation of intensive forms of growth and technology transfers have also made personnel training a more important method of imperialist expansion. Besides this, more than 100,000 foreign experts, mainly from Western states, work in the developing countries each year. Various services (engineering, managerial, etc.) and the contracting system are also being developed on a broad scale.

The changes in the machinery and forms of economic expansion by the imperialist powers have increased the proportion accounted for by interest on loans in the total profits of TNC's and TNB's (from 33.3 percent in 1970 to

foreign financial resources to maintain their current growth rates and carry out national programs of economic development. Furthermore, the functioning of foreign capital and the programs of official aid promote the growth of the hired labor force in general and the skilled link in particular, although certainly within relatively limited bounds.

Therefore, increased exports of capital, primarily in the form of loans, are one of the conditions of the circulation of social capital and its expanded reproduction in the centers and the periphery of the WCE. It is significant, however, that this exacerbates all of the contradictions in this economic system.

At the same time, economic expansion by imperialist powers, TNB's and TNC's is seriously inhibiting socioeconomic development on the periphery of the WCE. It signifies the reproduction of exploitation, inequality and dependence. This is precisely why, despite the increased flow of foreign capital, it cannot aid in solving the fundamental problems of the young states and eliminate the economic, scientific and technical gap between them and the industrially developed countries. This was completely corroborated by the events of the 1980's, when the foreign indebtedness of developing countries reached the point of crisis. The deterioration of the conditions of foreign trade and the new protectionist policy of Western powers had an extremely adverse effect on the solvency of many developing countries. A higher percentage of new loans had to be used to pay off previous debts (the figure rose from 56.3 percent in 1972 to 92.7 percent in 1981), and in 1982 total payments exceeded incoming foreign financial resources by 17.8 percent.

Under these conditions, 26 states failed to make payments in 1983, and this year another 30 countries are expected to join them. The regulation of debts began to be negotiated.

Private banks began to limit credit to the developing world. The young states responded by demanding an increase in official development aid, and it is possible that it will account for a higher percentage of foreign financial resources. Demands were simultaneously made for much more lenient terms on new loans, and monetary problems became the central issue in the struggle for a new international economic order. The debt crisis and the economic recession in the WCE resulted in the unprecedented decline of growth rates on the periphery--from 4.6 percent in 1979 to 4.3 percent in 1980, 2.4 percent in 1981 and 0.9 percent in 1982.

These are the price and the terms of the unequal participation of these countries in the system of capitalist international division of labor.

Economic expansion by imperialist powers, TNB's and TNC's is exacerbating internal contradictions in the socioeconomic development of newly liberated states because it intensifies the lack of coordination in economic and social progress and creates additional conditions for the maintenance of a fragmented, dualist structure. Let us look at technology transfers and the situation in the employment sphere as an example.

increment is greater than the proportion accounted for by foreign capital in accumulations. In other words, the exploitation norm is higher. Furthermore, foreign capital has recently had a more pronounced decelerating effect on economic development.

In the past decade the average annual GDP increment in the centers of the WCE was 2.8 times as high as on the periphery, and the per capita increment was 10.2 times as high. Furthermore, considering the fact that half of the increment was appropriated by foreign capital, the figures must be doubled. It is not surprising that the economic gap between these groups of countries is still growing.

The high rate of population growth in the developing states necessitates the allocation of an average of 45 percent of the GDP increment (in 1970-1980) for the maintenance of an extremely low standard of living. This left no way of securing the needs of expanded reproduction. And although it did take place in some countries, it was only because capital imports and foreign debts grew at a rapid rate simultaneously. In this way, they covered the deficits in their balance of payments and augmented their accumulations. In other words, this attests to the considerable dependence of the reproductive process in the periphery on imperialist centers. This was clearly demonstrated by the events of the 1980's when these debts reached the point of crisis. This is perfectly natural because the domination of the WCE by monopolist capital is incompatible with the eradication of underdevelopment, exploitation and dependence on its periphery. It has no interest in the complete and comprehensive reorganization of the economies of developing countries on a modern technological basis because this would undermine the economic bases of the monopolist domination of the WCE.

The export of foreign capital and the further development of monopolist and state-monopolist tendencies in several Asian and African countries could lead to the new exacerbation of conflicts within the WCE between its centers and its periphery. It must be said that the movement for a new international economic order, which is now at a standstill, is a reflection of one of the conflicts between the monopolist bourgeoisie of the imperialist powers and the growing bourgeoisie in the majority of developing countries over the proportional distribution of the part of the net product of developing countries which takes the form of profits or, more specifically, interest on loans and commercial income.

Nevertheless, the growth of capitalism in the majority of developing countries and its monopolist forms signify a tendency toward the closer alliance of the Eastern national bourgeoisie with Western monopolist capital, despite the serious conflicts between them. All of this proves that serious changes are taking place within the WCE, and that its inherent conflicts are unavoidable. In other words, the economic reconstruction of the periphery of the WCE on the basis of capitalism will be impossible in general.

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moved from rural communities, life in the city is an improvement. Whereas they were unemployed in the country, they have found jobs in the city, their income has risen and they even have the prospect of climbing the ladder of social mobility.

It is not surprising that this approach quickly won the recognition and approval of international organizations concerned with the resolution of the urgent problems facing countries developing along capitalist lines. These are not only the International Labor Organization and specialized UN agencies, but also, of course, the World Bank (the IBRD), in the documents and research publications of which the formal-informal dichotomy underwent further development and clarification.²

The characteristics of the informal sector seem to offer some kind of escape from the difficult or even critical situation in the employment sphere of underdeveloped states, where unemployment was snowballing in the cities.³ After all, if informal employment was not at all imaginary, unproductive and unimportant, benefiting neither society nor the employed individual, this sector should be developed to the maximum, state policy should be changed, old prejudices had to be combated and the informal sector had to be extended credit and given organizational and "institutional" assistance.

The situation in this area of beliefs adopted and spread by leading international organizations was quite similar and, what is more, obviously directly related to the situation in the sphere of the ideas and recommendations about the future of urban ghettos and illegal (squatters') settlements. Whereas the governments of the developing countries tried at first to wage a battle, in the literal sense, against illegal temporary settlements within the city limits with the consent and approval of international organizations, and even went so far as to destroy these settlements, they later changed their approach to the ghetto problem when they realized the futility of these actions. It was deemed expedient to be tolerant of these settlements and to promote--or, in any case, not prevent--their survival and their "grafting" onto the city.

The theory of the urban informal sector has been employed most consistently and extensively by the ILO--or, more precisely, by its subdivisions involved in research projects connected with the "world employment program." One of the administrators of this program, S. V. Sethuraman, said that its main characteristic was its source of livelihood for the urban poor. It is distinguished from the formal sector by the following features: easy access, reliance on internal resources, the family form of business organization, its small scales, labor-intensive technology, occupation skills acquired outside the formal system of education, and an unregulated and competitive market.

Several specific features were defined to distinguish enterprises and institutions of the informal sector in the ILO research program. The main ones were: 10 or less employees; the majority of the staff self-employed rather than working for hire.

Studies conducted in the second half of the 1970's revealed the dimensions of the informal sector in different cities in the developing world. They

workers in the formal sector (and generally much lower than the minimum wage established by law).

As for the income of the owners of establishments, the situation here is not completely clear. The authors of the studies estimated their income primarily on the basis of the information they gathered on added value (income from production), which therefore included the salary the owners paid themselves and their profits. The amount of the "reinvested" surplus, or maintenance costs, generally remained unknown. In several cities and branches of the informal sector of some cities, the amount of added value indicates that the income of the owners of informal establishments is equivalent to the average wage of semiskilled factory and plant workers or petty employees. According to the authors of the "world employment program," this attests to the definite potential of the informal sector, its ability to "engender" income and give some urban inhabitants "productive employment." This is also attested to, in their opinion, by the low mobility of those employed in the informal sector, connected with their reluctance to leave this sphere of activity, and their relatively young average age.

Several studies--for example, one in Jakarta--even revealed the degree of job satisfaction in the informal sector: Two-thirds of the workers here were satisfied, but it is indicative that the degree of dissatisfaction rose along with the educational level of respondents. In general, in spite of the significant difference between the incomes of owners (particularly employer-owners) and hired workers, the studies proved that the informal sector is a refuge for the poor. The difference between the relative number of people employed in this sector and their relative wages can be estimated for several cities. For example, 45 percent of the employed people in Jakarta accounted for 30 percent of the total income of urban inhabitants, and the figures in Ahmadabad were 47 percent and 28 percent.

Not all of the poor and extremely poor (beggars), however, can find employment in this sector. The ILO program studies established that the "employment patterns" of members of poor families are more complex. The head of the family might be employed in the informal sector, while other family members work in the formal, state or private sector. Furthermore, the wages or salaries of unskilled or semiskilled workers in the formal sector might differ little from the income of those employed in the informal sector. By the same token, the composition of the inhabitants of ghettos and illegal temporary settlements is also complex. They do not belong completely to the informal sector. Some of them can be categorized as low-paid workers and employees.

The theory of the informal sector and its use as the key concept in the approach to the problems of unemployment, poverty and indigence in the developing countries were not unanimously accepted or approved in the developed and developing countries. The theory began to be criticized soon after it made its appearance, primarily by the so-called leftist radical wing of the Western academic community. The members of this group were most inclined to doubt the thesis about the equal status and independence of the informal sector and its "idyllic" coexistence with the formal sector. They believed that the formal sector exploited the informal one and that there was obvious discrimination

subordination of the sphere of small-scale production in the developing countries to the interests of capital.

In descriptions of the exact workings of the exploitation of petty commercial producers, some authors compare them to the peculiarities V. I. Lenin discovered in the development of capitalism in Russia. These attempts are made quite rarely, but the nature of relations in several minor trades in the developing states has many similarities to the Russian variety of "cottage industry" or is even a "repetition" of this form of development.

It is also significant that the comparisons frequently encountered in foreign literature of the dichotomous approach to the belief in the existence of a "continuum" of production methods are similar in some respects to the concept of the multistructured economy, including the urban economy in the developing countries. This concept has been thoroughly analyzed by Soviet researchers and has been employed for a long time in Soviet literature. In this connection, the tendency of the supporters of this theory to include the small-scale capitalist order as well as small-scale commercial production among the lowest orders is of special significance.⁴ Although the informal sector coincides most with small-scale commercial production, its existence and evolution would be difficult to imagine without relations and contacts with the neighboring higher stratum, the structure of small but completely capitalist enterprises. It is precisely complex interaction, competition on one side and intersupplementary behavior on the other, that constitutes the basis of the symbiosis of the lowest structures in the cities of Eastern developing countries that is sometimes contrasted directly to the dominant developed corporative-capitalist structure, frequently connected either directly or indirectly with the transnational corporate sector.

The practice of contrasting the lowest structures to the highest seems to be an extremely dangerous approach to the capitalist-oriented development of young states. The highest structures and the political superstructure reflecting the interests of the class forces dominating them try to avoid this kind of situation. For this purpose, they resort to various ways of subsidizing the small-scale commercial structure and of including it in the sphere of influence of developed capitalist orders through subcontracting institutions, the contract system and other forms. These goals are attained by private capitalist methods and with the aid of state-capitalist institutions. They are vividly reflected, for example, in the activity of various types of state corporations in small-scale industry through the encouragement of handicrafts, cottage industry, etc.

Concluding our discussion with another look at the theory of the urban informal sector, we must stress that it has been subjected to severe and largely accurate criticism even by Western researchers. The empirical data collected by the ILO and other organizations on the functioning of the lowest structures of the urban economy in the developing countries are of considerable interest, however, just as the information made available to the scientific community by the supporters of the other approach to the problems of urban unemployment and poverty.

It seems that confining the informal sector to the boundaries outlined by the studies conducted within the framework of the ILO "world employment program"

The combination of overt and covert forms of underemployment with unconcealed unemployment constitutes the general background of the current situation in cities in the majority of developing Eastern countries with their sharply contrasting wealth and poverty, effective and extremely ineffective social production, excessive exploitation of some laborers and the vegetative existence of others. It is no coincidence that these contrasts inspire descriptions using dichotomies. But the "dualism" should not conceal the main thing: the unity of the capitalist method of production and the contradictions organically inherent in it.

FOOTNOTES

1. If we do not confine our discussion to the direct "predecessors" of the dichotomy of the formal and informal sectors, we could mention, on the one hand, the firmly established tradition of employing dichotomies in Western sociology, including urban sociology--for example, Toennies' community and society, M. Weber's traditional and rational, Redfield's populist and urban--and, on the other, the dualist theories of the economic growth of underdeveloped countries, first proposed by W. A. Lewis. The "disintegration" of the urban sector and the tendency to point up its inclusion of an informal sector with a labor surplus in recent works by English and other authors, primarily experts on African affairs, most probably made their appearance in a "struggle" against Lewis' ideas about the dualism of the developing economy and its division into urban and rural sectors, amplified primarily with information about the African countries.
2. See the works by D. Mazumdar, S. Giesinger and others.
3. The scales of the crisis and its assessment by representatives of these international organizations can be judged from a work published by P. Bairoch in 1973, where the analytical model of ILO "world employment program" studies was first proposed. This author coined the term "urban super-unemployment," which clearly indicates his view of the scales of manpower underutilization. It is even more significant that he regarded urban "super-unemployment" as something "socially" more dangerous and less tolerable than rural "underemployment."
4. See, for example, A. I. Levkovskiy, "Sotsial'naya struktura razvivayushchikhsya stran" [The Social Structure of Developing Countries], Moscow, 1978, pp 93-109.
5. A number of Western authors have also discussed it as part of the tri-segmented urban structure of developing countries: the sector of individual economic units (corresponding to small-scale commercial production in the informal sector), the sector of family enterprises (sometimes defined as units employing 10-50 people) and the corporate sector.

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Table 1

Dynamics of World Export Cost Unit and Turkish Export Cost Unit
in 1979-1983 (1980 = 100)

<u>Cost units</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983*</u>
World	83.8	100.0	99.1	95.5	91.7
Turkish	84.5	100.0	88.6	82.8	74.0

* For January and February.

Finally, there is also the great importance the countries of this region have attached to the development of mutual trade, which they regard as one way of promoting the consolidation of the Islamic world.

Centrifugal tendencies, however, must also be taken into account. For example, according to Turkish economists, the country's exporters owe much of their success in Iraq and Iran to the prolonged armed conflict between these two states. It has had an adverse effect on their economies and has necessitated imports of a broad assortment of goods which Turkey has. Turkey has tried to maintain normal relations with both countries and has attempted, although without any success, to mediate the resolution of the conflict between them.*

The efforts of Turkish exporters have not been confined to Iran and Iraq, however, and have had the aim of rapidly conquering the markets of virtually all Islamic countries. As a result of this, for example, the value of Turkish exports to Saudi Arabia increased from 17.5 million dollars to 357.9 million between 1978 and 1982, and the figure was already 238.5 million during the first 9 months of 1983. The respective figures for Jordan were 19.5 million, 104.8 million and 67.7 million, and the figures for Kuwait were 16.3 million, 86.9 million and 57.7 million. Turkish exporters simultaneously entered absolutely new markets. Some examples are Abu Dhabi and Dubai, where Turkish goods began to be shipped in 1980.

The Turkish exporters' efforts to develop relations with Islamic countries, which imported only 6 million dollars' worth of Turkish goods in 1963, brought the figure up to almost 2 billion in 1981. Furthermore, these countries already accounted for 55 percent of all Turkish exports between January and October 1982, according to E. Akturk, the head of the Turkish State Planning Organization.

The Islamic countries' increasing share and the Western states' decreasing share of Turkish exports in the last few years are illustrated in Table 2.

The larger Islamic share of Turkish exports is also due to the deterioration of the conditions of Turkey's trade with the Western countries in the atmosphere of economic recession, which led to stronger protectionist measures.

* Former Turkish Prime Minister B. Ulusu, a member of the so-called goodwill mission, made several trips to Tehran and Baghdad for this purpose.

exports. The increased deliveries of produce to the Middle Eastern markets are particularly important in connection with the EEC's more cautious approach to imports of Turkish agricultural goods since the middle of the 1960's. In the 1970's the Common Market actually set quotas and seasonal restrictions on some of these products.

In contrast to this, the Islamic countries are eager to buy a variety of Turkish agricultural products. For example, in 1979 the Islamic countries already accounted for 45 percent of the oranges Turkey sent abroad, 55 percent of the grapes and almost 100 percent of the apples and early vegetables. The percentage of canned fruit and vegetables exported by Turkey, however, is still negligible. As for sales of grain, it must be said that there has been no significant increase in the area of these crops or rise in their yield in Turkey in recent years. Wheat fields, for example, even decreased from 9.3 million hectares to 9 million between 1975 and 1980. For these reasons, the value of grain exports to Islamic countries has not changed much. For example, the figure was 50.8 million dollars in 1979 and it rose only to 53.8 million in 1981.

The growth of Turkish exports of foodstuffs to Islamic countries has been accompanied by increased sales of manufactured goods to these countries. They accounted for more than 50 percent of total Turkish exports in 1981, and the figure had already reached 66.3 percent during the first 5 months of 1982. Furthermore, during the latter period there was a dramatic increase in sales of buses, tractors, vehicle tires, refrigerators and items made of plastic and glass.

Turkey's efforts to develop commercial relations with Islamic countries are due in large part to the fact that several of them, especially Iraq, Iran and Libya, as well as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, are its main suppliers of oil. Turkey has to import over 80 percent of all the oil it needs, and this product accounts for almost 90 percent of the cost of its imports from the Islamic countries. Other important items of Turkish imports from these countries are petroleum products, phosphates and phosphoric acid, ammonia, fertilizer, rice, jute, rubber and tin (Table 3).

It is indicative that whereas the deficit in Turkey's foreign trade with the OECD countries and the Islamic countries in 1980 was 1,904,100,000 dollars and 2,261,300,000 dollars respectively, the figures in 1981 were 2,015,700,000 dollars and 1,634,300,000 dollars, and the figures for the first 5 months of 1982 were 869 million and 435 million. This attests to a recent definite improvement in the state of Turkish trade with the Islamic countries, primarily as a result of the increase in Turkish exports to these countries. Turkey's share of their imports, however, is still relatively small. For example, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait allocated 38 billion dollars for the acquisition of manufactured goods in 1979, but Turkey accounted for only 80 million of the total.

In connection with this, it is significant that goods from Turkey have to compete in the Islamic markets with goods from the EEC countries, and this has made things particularly difficult for Turkish exporters, especially

most of the members of which realize the importance of increased exports to the Islamic states. It is also important that the markets of these states, whose import needs will rise, according to current estimates, 14 percent a year for the next few years, are fairly well organized and are already somewhat familiar to Turkish exporters. This, in turn, allows Turkish foreign trade firms to assess their capabilities realistically and to draw up lists of export goods with a view to current and future demand. According to Turkish exporters, the most promising goods Turkey could continue exporting to the countries of this region include fresh and canned fruit and vegetables in addition to livestock and meat. Deliveries of cement, chemicals, refrigerators and simple industrial equipment could also be increased.

Speaking at the opening ceremonies of the sixth meeting of the administrators of the Islamic Development Bank in Istanbul in June 1982, the head of the Turkish Government, K. Evren, declared that "Turkey is an integral part of the Islamic world." Statements like these have been reinforced by the fairly frequent meetings of Turkish leaders with the leaders of Islamic countries.

It is indicative that the development of trade and economic relations certainly does not occupy the last place on the program of these visits, and in some cases it tops the list. The Turkish press has been unanimous in its assessments of the results of negotiations, always noting the presence of complete mutual understanding on a broad range of questions connected with economic cooperation.

When the prospects for its development are being assessed, however, it must be borne in mind that the Islamic world, with its quite diverse political outlooks and levels of economic development, does not have a unanimous attitude toward Turkey. In many cases it is distinguished by a certain degree of caution, stemming from Turkey's continued strong political and economic dependence on the Western countries and its membership in NATO. This has kept the Turkish leadership from taking a completely consistent and principled stand on a broad range of issues of vital importance to the states of this region. In view of this, we should not disregard the worries expressed by representatives of some of these countries that Turkey is actually promoting the interests of the Western states in the region by pretending to serve as a "bridge between East and West." Nevertheless, the successful development of Turkish economic relations with the Islamic countries in recent years is quite evident, and this will certainly have a tremendous effect on the definition of its role in the regional structure and in the system of international economic relations in general.

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It is indicative that even when decolonization was being actively pursued throughout the world, the British Government tried to expand its colonial possessions in the subregion. In 1965 London suggested the creation of a British territory in the Indian Ocean, in which it intended to include the Chagos Islands and islands of the Seychelles Archipelago--Aldabra, Farquhar and Desroches.

The primary motives behind the plan were London's militarist ambitions. These islands form a broken line between India and Southeast Africa. By establishing military bases, England and the United States hoped to control vast regions of the Indian Ocean. They worked on this plan for more than 10 years, but the persistent struggle of the Seychellois, supported by the international community, kept the imperialists from dividing the Seychelles: In June 1976 they won their independence and became a republic.

Whereas England has retained only one colonial possession in the region, France is still hanging on to several islands with differing administrative statuses. Mayotte is a "territorial unit" of France. Plans for its separation from the Comoros were being drawn up in Paris as early as the late 1960's. In 1972, under the pressure of the national liberation movement, France had to hold a referendum on the future status of the islands. At that time Paris openly supported the pro-French Mayotte Popular Movement, which wanted the island to remain under French rule.

After the Comoros became independent in 1975, Paris refused to recognize the new state and left its colonial administration on Mayotte. Ignoring the demands of the international community, the colonial authorities held a second "referendum" on Mayotte in February 1976 and offered the island the status of a "territorial unit." As soon as Mayotte had been separated from the rest of the islands, Paris stationed a Foreign Legion subunit there. The most important sea lane in Southeast Africa, the Mozambique Channel, is controlled by a French military base here. The channel became even more important to the imperialist powers after the American satellite surveillance station on Madagascar and the French naval base in Diego Suarez (Antsirabe) were closed on the orders of the DRM Government in 1975, and the French air force base in Ivato, close to Antananarive, was closed a year earlier.

As the South African STAR reported at the beginning of 1984, France decided to establish a base on Mayotte and to make it the headquarters of the French armed forces in the Indian Ocean.

French military circles attach great importance to Reunion. Paris changed its status from "colony" to "overseas department" precisely for the purpose of retaining control over this strategically important island.

In 1978 the OAU Liberation Committee adopted a resolution demanding independence for Reunion. The position of independent Africa, however, was vehemently protested by Paris, which declared that it had "historical rights" to the island. The base on Reunion is one of the largest French military installations in the Indian Ocean. The Reunion Communist Party and other progressive forces are demanding that the island be granted "popular democratic autonomy" as the first step in decolonization.

in 1960, has resolutely advocated the unconditional observance of all of the provisions of this document by former mother countries. The USSR and the countries of the socialist community feel that the international community's decisions on decolonization, including those pertaining to the African islands in the Indian Ocean, must be implemented as quickly as possible.

The struggle of the states in the subregion for the restoration of territorial unity and national sovereignty over the territories which were taken away from them is directed against the imperialist policy of militarizing the Indian Ocean and is intended to strengthen peace and security in the region.

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The role of the domestic market as a factor motivating TNC expansion in the ASEAN zone is specifically analyzed in the work. The authors made an attempt, with unquestionable success in general, to estimate the scales of the collective domestic market of the ASEAN zone, the prospects for its further growth and its "degree of appeal" to TNC's.

The main stages of the TNC penetration of Southeast Asia and the current position of the TNC's in the economies of the ASEAN countries are analyzed in the second chapter. On the basis of extensive documented information and many original calculations and estimates, the authors explain why the ASEAN zone became the main region of TNC investments in the second half of the 1960's, concentrating on the explanation of economic motives.

The third chapter of the work is wholly devoted to an examination of something seen exclusively in this region--TNC cooperation with local Chinese capital. The motives and conditions of this cooperation, its objects and forms and the role played in the TNC penetration of the region by such centers of local Chinese capital as Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore are analyzed. The authors correctly assume that the alliance of TNC's with local Chinese capital is now extremely strong and is based on a system of multiple and diverse ties. The support of local Chinese capital considerably facilitates, the authors believe, TNC operations in the region and complicates government control of TNC activity.

Another complex matter elucidated in this work is TNC participation in the current processes of economic integration in Southeast Asia, particularly in the ASEAN zone. Analyzing this, the authors make note of the increased effort of TNC's to participate in these processes in the 1970's. Nevertheless, there are significant differences in the degree of interest in regional integration of various TNC's and the efforts of monopolies to subordinate the economic convergence of regional states to their own interests. The authors draw the valid conclusion that the integration measures supported by TNC's in Southeast Asia are only those which will not impede (and are likely to promote) the escalation of their economic expansion on the regional level.

The reader will be interested in learning about the specific part played by TNC's in the resolution of general and particular problems of reproduction in the Southeast Asian countries and the distinctive features of TNC activity in such spheres as environmental protection, the establishment of a scientific and technical base, the acquisition of organizational experience, the training of personnel, etc.

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The author reveals the network of interrelations between the major international Zionist organizations, primarily those between the World Zionist Organization and the World Jewish Congress. He stresses that although the Zionists have been unable to expand the reactionary activity of these organizations to actual worldwide scales, they nevertheless take every opportunity to proclaim their mythical omnipotence. The author completely refutes these false allegations with concrete documents and statistics.

Israel's aggressive policy in the Middle East is analyzed at length. People in Washington expected the Israeli Army's attacks on Syria and the PLO to undermine the position of anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world, and the disappearance of the PLO from the political stage would have allowed the United States to cut the "Palestinian knot" and force Israel to agree to rapprochement with conservative Arab states (p 17). These plans were frustrated by the heroic struggle of the Palestinian and Lebanese patriots, by the repulsion of the aggressor by Syrian military subunits, and by the world progressive public's support of the just Arab cause.

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[Kremenchug Motor Vehicle Plant], "MAZ" [Minsk Motor Vehicle Plant], and "ZIL" [Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev] trucks, graders and cranes. A systematic assault on the uninhabited savanna was underway, an assault which would transform it and breathe life into it.

Melka Wakane," Stepanov recounted, "translated from the language of the local inhabitants means 'little water, a ford'. But our project is by no means small; we are building here the largest GES in the country, with a capacity of 153,000 kilowatts, and hundreds of enterprises in the USSR are supplying us with reliable equipment. The planning and survey work was also done by Soviet specialists. We started out here in 1982 with tents, where our first construction team--12 people in all--lived by candlelight."

And now I was meeting with Stepanov again.

"Drought," he said, "is an insidious natural phenomenon, and combatting it is a complex problem. There are two types of aid in such situations: short-term, i.e., supplying food and medicine and setting up special camps, and long-term. Our project may be said to fall into the category of long-term assistance. You see, the installation of this GES and the current which it will yield will bring the desert to life and allow the utilization of hundreds of thousands of hectares of new land. That means new fields of wheat and teff, which represent a significant step in an upswing of agricultural production and thereby an assault on drought and a victory over hunger."

(Melka-Wakane) today is changed beyond recognition: the saplings along "Friendship Boulevard" have grown tall and green, a construction workers' town with neat, comfortable cottages and garden plots has sprung up and 40 kilometers of roads have been built in a little over a year. Now a collective of 150 Soviet specialists is at work here. However, it is not these changes, noteworthy though they are, which adorn the construction site today. One of the most important components of the GES is now being erected: the dam which will block the path of the Wabi Shebele. Not long ago the one thousandth cubic meter of concrete was poured.

I am standing with Girma Gebre-Georgis, the project's chief power engineer and a graduate of the Odessa Polytechnical Institute, at that point on the riverbank where the impounding of the Wabi has already begun; we observe how dump trucks drive up to the dam one after another.

"In a day we pour up to 70 cubic meters of concrete into the core of the dam," says Girma. "We're working at a good pace. We would like to complete the project sooner. This GES has tremendous significance for our country. Our Soviet friends understand this also. They work selflessly and all are highly qualified specialists. And their foreman is a match for them, a man who knows his job down to the smallest detail. Comrade Stepanov's experience is tremendously rich. After all, he did build the Irkutskaya, Krasnoyarskaya and Sayano-Shushenskaya GES's. We, graduates of Soviet universities--and there are currently 15 of us on this project--know what gigantic energy installations those are. Your people share their knowledge

INTERNATIONAL

CATHOLICS SEEN DIVIDED OVER ROLE OF LATIN AMERICAN CHURCH

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by K. Khachaturov, doctor of historical sciences, professor:
"Chaplains of the Undeclared War"]

[Excerpt] It is well known that many believers and even some priests participated in the armed struggle against the pro-American dictator Somoza under the banner of the SFNO [Sandinista Front for National Liberation]. After the revolution's victory the patriotic part of the church, especially the lowest levels of the clergy, supported the creation of "a new earth and a new heaven" and took an active part in the building of a society of social justice. Priests headed the ministries of foreign affairs, culture and education. The recently elected president of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega, reaffirmed the SFNO's willingness to have a dialog with the church. The accusations of persecution of the church by the sandinistas sound all the more blasphemous.

Washington and the Vatican undertook the urgent task of preventing the participation of the believers in the development of the revolutionary process. Soon after the revolution's victory all six bishops who had served during the Somoza era were called to the Vatican and there they demanded that priests occupying posts in the SFNO government leave them "as soon as possible". Otherwise, "disobedient" persons were threatened with excommunication.

The "NEW YORK TIMES" wrote in August of this year that, at the time of his recent visit to the United States, Archbishop Obando y Bravo acknowledged receipt of financial support from the U.S. government and made a request for the granting of additional aid via the transnational corporation "Grace and Company", which operates in many Latin American countries. In exchange the archbishop gave an associate of this corporation intelligence information of a military nature. And the CIA complimented Obando y Bravo, saying they were well acquainted with the archbishop's activities, which were effective and well organized in their opinion.

U. S. imperialism regards the participation of believers in the liberation struggle and the anti-imperialistic position of part of the Catholic Church as a blow to its' own most reliable "rear area," and it is using a "multi-azimuth" policy in the struggle against the "rebellious" church.

First of all, Washington is strengthening support for military and police regimes, including fascist ones, which have spread terror not only against the believers, but also against the servants of the church. Arrests and torture of priests and nuns, prior censorship of sermons and other forms of persecution have become the everyday practices of pro-imperialistic regimes. We need only remember the villainous murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero in El Salvador. Many priests, including bishops, are languishing in prisons. The terrorists feel they can act with complete impunity, as evidenced by such a monstrous fact that in El Salvador they were subjected to violence and subsequently there were the brutal murders of four American nuns. It has been proven that the threads of the crime lead to the leader of the fascist "death squads", d'Aubuisson, about whom U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz recently said: "We consider that d'Aubuisson, as a leader of the loyal opposition in the true sense of this word, deserves our support".

Secondly, various organizations in the United States, not only religious ones, but also government departments, in particular the CIA, are increasing pressure on the Catholic Church in Latin America, directing attacks against that part of the clergy which is supporting participation in the general democratic movement and which is calling for constructive dialog with atheists, including communists.

Thirdly, in Latin America there are entrenched numerous protestant sects, which are active basically in the lumpen-proletariat environment and are wholly dependent on the United States (and very frequently on the CIA). Under the black banner of double-dyed reaction, they operate first and foremost in regions enveloped by the active anti-imperialist struggle. Thanks namely to the efforts of North American missionaries Latin America has become the only region in the world where the number of Protestants is growing at the expense of the Catholics.

Fourthly, the White House is attempting to stop a growing division among Catholics in the United States. Many U.S. Catholics actively oppose the arms race, support a freeze on nuclear weapons and oppose the aggressive U.S. policy in Latin America and in the rest of the world. Of the more than 50 million Catholics in the United States, every fourth one is a person of Hispanic decent. In other words, together with blacks, they represent the more oppressed segment of the nation's population. Many of them have proclaimed solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of Latin America. "Communists and Catholics, as is well known, have different philosophical viewpoints", noted K. U. Chernenko. "However, this does not prevent us from struggling jointly for peace, when peace is threatened by serious danger". In the "crusade" of U. S. imperialism against peace and social progress the number of attempts to set the believers against atheists, especially communists, is growing at a rather significant rate. A large number of examples can be found in Latin American life. But they are merely indicative of the futility of the efforts of Washington's "crusaders".

The constantly growing demand for specialists has led to the opening of new universities and other institutions of higher education. There has been an increase in the network of institutions of secondary specialized education, as well as of vocational schools, in which industrial personnel was trained.

In solving general education tasks and arming the students with the knowledge of the laws of nature and social development, the Soviet school shapes their ideological views and convictions on this basis.

It is necessary to note that we are talking not about a formal reorganization of the existing system of public education, but about bringing it into conformity with the level of development of the productive forces in the conditions of the mature socialist society.

Sociologists cite convincing data to the effect that in 1930 an 8-year education was sufficient for the mastery of 58 percent of the professions, in the 1970's--of 6 percent, and in the 1980's--of only 4 percent.

Question: What is the essence of the educational reform, what are its main directions?

Answer: The reform. . . is calculated for two five-year-plans, and in regard to a number of problems for a longer term. It concerns all aspects of the activity of public education--from the structure of the school to the content of programs and textbooks, from the training of future teachers to new regulations for the students. Its essence and purpose are determined by one main reference point--the formation of the all-round developed individual.

Problems of the improvement of the content of education and strengthening the links of study with the practice of contemporary production occupy an important place in educational reform. It has been recognized as expedient to carry out a complex of measures for arming the students with the necessary knowledge and skills of handling computer technology, which presents a difficult and responsible task.

. . . the role of literature is growing. At its basis will be the study of the outstanding works of classical Russian and other literatures of the peoples of our country, and [the works] of Soviet and foreign literature.

Very important is the statute of the Basic Directions of the Further Improvement of the Study of the Russian Language Along With the Native Languages in the Non-Russian Schools.

The revision of educational plans, programs and textbooks will have to be accelerated and completed within the shortest possible period of time.

The pivotal idea of the reform--the fundamental improvement of labor education and the vocational orientation of the students, of the rising generations, and the combination of study with productive labor--has received the unanimous support of the Soviet people.

This is one and a half times more than in the current five-year-plan. I will note that already as of 1 September of the 1983-1984 school year the gradual increase in teachers' salaries, to be administered in stages, has begun--on the average by 30-35 percent. This measure concerned 6 million people.

In the Basic Directions of the Reform of the General Education and Vocational School it is stated that more extensive use must be made of the possibility of state and cooperative enterprises, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, to build schools and other educational institutions. They have been granted the right to allot funds and resources for this purpose.

In the future we will have to solve such problems as the full satisfaction of the requirements for preschool institutions of cities and villages.

Of course, the concept "material base" includes many other problems of schools and of vocational and technical schools. This concerns various equipment for all types of educational institutions, the preparation and publication of new textbooks, various visual aids, modern technical means of training, the training of teachers, educators, etc.

Question: Today one can already observe "kindergarten" conditions in some schools, where 6-year old children are being taught: A sleeping room, a playing room, the daily routine corresponds to the routine that is habitual for a preschooler--walks, games. And in the kindergarten there are desks, a class blackboard, and textbooks. The bell rings, and the lesson begins, the children learn how to read, to count and to write, they acquire the necessary study habits.

Naturally, the question arises: To what extent is the training of children beginning at age 6 justified? Where is it better for them to begin their training?

Answer: The data of scientific research and the conclusion of pedagogical science provide every reason to talk about the fact that instruction from the age of 6 makes sense for society and is useful for the children. It is prepared by the development of the system of preschool education and the children's experience of learning in kindergartens and schools.

There is a need for additional places for pupils, the training of new teachers and material investments in the school cause. Special educational plans and programs have been developed. A qualitative reconstruction of the entire content of instruction is underway, which corresponds more closely to the possibilities of the children and to the new conditions of their instruction.

. . . the transfer to instruction from the age of 6 will be implemented gradually in the course of a number of years, beginning in 1986, in accordance with the creation of the proper conditions, taking into account the desires of the parents, the level of the development of the children, and local conditions.

During the first stage, a part of the children will enroll in school at the age of 7 as well, and 6-year olds will begin instruction in the older groups of the kindergartens.

As is well known, the base enterprise is consolidated behind every school and educational production combine. This attaches a new character to the alliance of school and production. The creation of the necessary conditions for the labor training of school children is an integral concern of the Soviets.

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primarily great exactingness for oneself and for others. In terms of literature and art, this party demand coincides fully with the advice of our founders and with our inner motives and our own criteria of talent.... We live today in a time where the level of artistic tastes and needs in the people is high, when an artist is expected to create works which would extol the creators of a new society and would help mobilize all the spiritual forces of the people in successfully carrying out the grandiose socioeconomic and cultural programs outlined by the party."

There is every reason to say that the recently held jubilee plenum became a significant phenomenon in the artistic life of the nation, an event which marked a qualitatively new stage in the history of Soviet artistic culture. The inestimable political, social and ideological importance of this plenum is determined primarily by the fact that here the vivid and profoundly reasoned speech of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, in being full of new fundamental theoretical generalizations and conclusions, shed light on numerous aspects of the interaction of artistic culture and social progress, art and socialist civilization, artistic creativity and the particular features of the present-day ideological struggle. This speech further creatively enriched the theory of socialist literature and art in the stage of improving developed socialism.

1

At any stage of human history, literature and art have ultimately reflected the particular features and nature of their times, they have "fed" off their conflicts, their real human characters and types and most importantly have recreated an artistic atmosphere, moral demands, the joys and concerns of contemporaries. This is completely valid for the literature and art of today, the main development line of which being determined by the particular features of the relatively extended stage of improving developed socialism.

The concept of developed socialism, said K. U. Chernenko at the jubilee plenum, makes it possible for us to clearly define the achieved level of society's socioeconomic maturity and to more clearly formulate our immediate and long-range goals. The theoretical concept of developed socialism is far from an abstraction, and it speaks of specific, vitally important things. It says that we must have a measured, realistic approach which does not allow either marking time or skipping ahead, either the understating of indisputable achievements or the varnishing of reality. The demand of realistically weighing all the pluses and minuses, what we have achieved and what is still unresolved does not in any way mean a focusing on the every day, the banal and the routine. The party looks ahead, giving primary importance to what determines the future of the nation, the people and largely the fate of peace.

A realistic assessment that the higher stage of the development of socialism, communism, is impossible without an historically extended stage of developed socialism (with our country being at the start of this) in no way means, as it may seem to some, a distancing of the communist future. On the contrary, it is possible to bring this future closer only having resolved the entire range of major and complex problems which relate to one degree or another to the first phase of communist construction.

At present, Soviet culture is an organic fusion of the spiritual values created by all nations and nationalities. The very fact of awarding the Order of Friendship of Peoples during the jubilee year to the USSR Writers Union for services in the development of literature and for a major contribution of the Soviet writers to communist construction again emphasizes the multinational nature of our literature which is being created in the 78 languages of the Soviet nations and nationalities.

The formation of the Writers Union, the Lithuanian writer A. Maldonis pointed out at the plenum, meant that the time was over of the cultural isolation of the large and small peoples and that international cultural ties had reached a level of a planned, purposeful and organized process of interaction and reciprocal enrichment. Just how far this interaction and mutual enrichment have gone was shown by A. Maldonis from just one but very convincing example of his republic. At present, it is impossible, he said, to imagine the spiritual world of the Lithuanian without an organic part of it, that is, the Russian classical and Russian Soviet literature, the artistic words, music and plastic arts of the other fraternal peoples. In turn, the names of Salomeya Neris, Pyatras Tsvirka, Eduardas Mezheylaitis, Jonas Avizhyus and many other Lithuanian writers, artists and composers have been inscribed in the treasury of social culture. Around 600 books by Lithuanian authors have been translated into Russian, the language of international intercourse and Lithuanian Soviet literature is being translated into 36 languages of the Soviet peoples and 27 foreign languages.

And this is the state of affairs with the literature and art of each Union and autonomous republic, each Soviet nation and nationality when by common effort a single Soviet-wide culture is created which is socialist in content, multinational in form, and internationalist in spirit and character.

Each of the national writers, musicians, architects and artists in his creativity relies on the rich centuries-old cultural traditions of his people and endeavors to depict the life of his republic more profoundly and vividly. At the same time all the experience of modern artistic practices shows, as K. U. Chernenko said, that "the more closely national culture is tied to others, the more intensely it inculcates in itself those traits of the spiritual and artistic experience of the fraternal peoples which have assumed international importance and the more rapidly and fruitfully it develops. And all the greater the contribution it makes to enriching the spiritual life of all the Soviet people and all our society."

The Communist Party has shown constant concern for the high ideological focus and artistic improvement of multinational Soviet literature and art and for further strengthening the artistic ties of the cultural workers with the life of the people and with the practices of communist construction. The party has been concerned that art should reflect the socially significant problems and confirm the goals of life which are worthy of the Soviet man, the standards of communist morality as well as the beauty and greatness of our moral values. The party has called upon the literary and artistic workers to assist by their creativity in further bringing together and mutually enriching the socialist nations as well as the ideological and political unification of the Soviet multinational society.

or another influence the fate of people and become a source of moral conflict. Moreover, the overcoming of these contradictions, although they do not have an antagonistic nature in our country, requires a great deal of effort, great civil maturity and principledness. This is rich food for thought for a writer and for carrying out the eternal mission of literature, that is, to cause society and each person to look more closely and more sharply at himself."

Here of crucial significance is the civil position of the artist and his constructive, creative inspiration. If an artist unswervingly believes in the invincibility of the new, in the inevitable triumph of a just cause and affirmative principles and is able to get across to the reader this belief of his in a vivid, apt, accessible and convincing manner, he has nothing to fear in turning to the sorest points and the most painful questions of our life.

Probably at present there is no more debated theoretical question on the pages of our literary-artistic publications than the problem of the positive hero.

Here is what K. U. Chernenko said at the plenum: The man of labor should be at the center of literature and art. In order to truly shape the Soviet character, the artists should create just, living images of people who are totally dedicated to the people and to socialism and who embody the heroics of building a new world. It is infinitely difficult to shift such heroes from life into an artistic work. Hence the numerous disputes and different viewpoints which ultimately pursue the basic goal of how to make the hero vitally persuasive, reliable, recognizable and close to the reader and viewer who could believe in them and want to imitate them. However, K. U. Chernenko said, "...seemingly unproductive are debates over what should be, for example, the 'balance' of positive and negative qualities in the hero. It is important...that the creative musings of the artist have, if it can be so put, a single point of departure, that is, loyalty to the truth of life and to socialist ideals. This is an essential condition for the party loyalty and democracy of art."

Only such a hero, with a "single point of departure" and loyal to the vital truth and to our socialist ideals can help the reader, viewer and listener assume an activist position as a steadfast fighter for our common cause.

The speeches by the writers at the plenum mentioned the significant successes of Soviet journalism. It is no secret, however, that here we owe all the accomplishments, as a rule, to the representatives of the elder and middle-age generations. There has been a very slight influx of fresh forces in the form of young prose writers, poets and dramatists and they very rarely turn to journalistic genres, particularly to international problems. And precisely such a concern opens up broad horizons and helps to shape clear class positions, civil virtue and patriotism. An involvement in journalism and current affairs provides an opportunity to delve promptly and boldly in the most pressing problems and in the specific economic and social questions of concern to the Soviet people. All of this, said K. U. Chernenko, "helps to create works which by the means of art make it possible at times to outrun time, acutely posing urgent vital problems and offering concrete ways for resolving them."

The turning to history and indoctrination by history aid largely in shaping the feelings of a citizen, and internationalist. We are witnesses of the rise of

We are hopeful, said K. U. Chernenko at the jubilee plenum, that in the period of preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, the leadership of the creative unions and organizations will find an opportunity to draw the even more profound attention of the masters of art to the military-patriotic theme.

At the jubilee plenum there was a frank and direct discussion of the tasks involved in increasing professional skills and the artistic improvement of works of art. Without profound artistic embodiment by the means of art, refined form and a vivid apt word, art cannot have any effect and there is no "infecting" of the reader or viewer with the thoughts and feelings experienced by the artist and without which, as L. N. Tolstoy felt, there was no true art. Our great goals, our humane ideals, said K. U. Chernenko at the plenum, require neither uninspired eulogizing in verse or prose, nor the substituting of rote truths for original, fresh thinking. "Poorly written books and operas, crudely filmed TV and movie films, crudely worked sculptures and pictures do not only ruin the taste of millions of people. They discredit the themes and ideas for which their creators are working. Hence, we must struggle constantly and with principle against dullness and drabness in art and certainly there can be no concessions to manifestations of ideological emptiness and ideological primitivism."

The struggle for the quality of art also has another political and ideological aspect. Our opponents "on the other side of the red barricades" often take a not very satisfactory work by a Soviet author where an artistic examination of life has been replaced by sheer declarativeness and persuades everyone that this is the standard which the party requires following. Then the profound, pertinent books written from truly party positions are described as a "deviation" from the norm. Hence, the struggle in art for a unity of ideological content and mastery--these two wings without which it is impossible to rise to the heights of creativity--is becoming not only a major factor in acquainting man with artistic culture and a weapon of aesthetic indoctrination but is also assuming a most immediate political and ideological sense.

In the speech of K. U. Chernenko there was an unbiased discussion of the role of literary and artistic criticism in the correct orientation of the artist and in the proper directing of the development of artistic creativity. The party is equally averse to any one-sided approach to the question, when either compliments are showered over weak novels, performances and films merely because of the "importance of the subject" or the aesthetic refinements of ideologically unsound works are affectingly relished. The experience of Soviet as well as world artistic creativity shows that without a highly professional and civilly responsible criticism there can be no great literature or major art. And this means that our Marxist-Leninist criticism should not only accurately assess various works. The party expects more from artistic criticism: "The ability to disclose the profoundest social sense of the problems which are touched upon in the works, to commend the authors if they have posed them correctly or to argue soundly against them when they err. In a word, our criticism should aid the movement of the people's spiritual life."

And here K. U. Chernenko with extreme aptness recalled the words of V. I. Lenin on the role and importance of literary criticism as an important instrument for

The party, said K. U. Chernenko at the plenum, is not intervening into the problems of artistic creativity and does not intend to give the artists ready-made formulas on how to solve them and decisively repudiates petty interference in the work of creative people. Creativity is creativity because it is free. The party sets the focus, the social importance and the ideological effectiveness of literature and art.

The party establishes all the conditions which are necessary for the disclosure of all talents and abilities, aiding them to be fully revealed and to create for the good of the people.

The party is considerate of the creators of artistic values, remembering at the same time that the freedom of creativity has nothing in common with anarchistic free will and individualism or the forgetting of the demands and laws of society which are obligatory for all its members. It is impossible to defame the moral and political underpinnings of Soviet society and at the same time expect recognition and goods from it. "Of course, the people will never forgive anyone for going over to the side of our ideological opponents in that acute struggle which is occurring now in the world. Here there cannot be two opinions."

A characteristic feature in the present stage of party leadership is a decisive rise in responsibility, initiative and authority of the party organizations of the creative unions themselves, the artistic collectives and cultural institutions. This was mentioned at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and was stated in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Work of the Party Organization of the Belorussian State Academy Theater imeni Yanky Kupai."

The communists of the creative unions, K. U. Chernenko pointed out in the jubilee plenum, are their political nucleus, the unifying force which must consistently affirm the spirit of party loyalty in the artistic milieu, actively influence the ideological direction of creativity, help shape in the literary and artistic workers a Marxist-Leninist ideology and contribute to the development of the artistic youth.

The party organizations of the artistic unions should give particular attention to strengthening an atmosphere of comradely confidence, great exactingness and demandingness in an artist by another. This can only benefit the artists themselves and art as a whole.

Work in the artistic sphere, when based on a Leninist line, requires that this be done intelligently and with initiative. "And this means," said K. U. Chernenko, "the conducting of a frank, principled discussion with the people of creative labor. In no instance should we avoid the urgent problems which concern the artist. Their solution must not be put off to the so-called superior levels as we must be able to persuade, and if need be, reconvince the other. Without this, party leadership over literature and art is inconceivable. And this makes it, in the apt expression of Gorkiy, a 'morally authoritative force'."

"Of course, it is a hopeless matter of persuading our ideological opponents. But we must constantly defend and explain our views, check the hand of dishonest 'critics' of the new order, actively bring the people the truth about socialism, indoctrinate the Soviet people, particularly the youth, in a spirit of class vigilance and a readiness to defend our great motherland."

The foreign policy line of the CPSU is firm and consistent. It is aimed at a radical limitation and reduction of the arms race and at the banning and complete elimination of nuclear weapons. This line is supported by all the peace-loving forces of the world and at present millions upon millions of people with different views and convictions abroad are working for these same goals. The joint actions of the peace supporters have had a significant impact on the shaping of antiwar public opinion. In this movement much can be done, said K. U. Chernenko at the plenum, by cultural figures and the intelligentsia. At present, particularly timely are the famous words of Gorkiy: "Whose side are you on, master of culture?" Here the question does not come down, stressed K. U. Chernenko, to a choice between the USSR and the United States. "The question is a choice between the life and death of our civilization. Here there is no 'golden mean': either you are with those who are preparing for war or with those who reject the adventuristic policy of imperialism and are fighting for peaceful coexistence and for disarmament."

Several days before the Jubilee Plenum of the USSR Writers Union, in Moscow, there was a session of the 8th General Assembly of the International Association of Children's and Youth Theaters. In turning to the participants and guests of the assembly, K. U. Chernenko pointed out that the difference of views and convictions and different creative directions should not impede the main task of discovering the best ways for the aesthetic and moral indoctrination of the younger generation. Art must help people, primarily the younger generation, understand the world, value, protect and add to the beauty of this world, instill a belief in truth and justice and carry forward the ideas of peace and progress. "I hope," wrote K. U. Chernenko, "the subject of your forum 'The Role of the Children's and Youth Theater in Indoctrinating the Younger Generation in a Spirit of Peace, Humanism and Progress' will become the lodestar of your creativity."

Our creative intelligentsia and cultural workers can do a great deal in uniting the peace-loving forces, in bringing them together on an antiwar platform, and in helping their foreign colleagues in the solely correct choice in favor of peace and a peaceful, just resolution to all disputed questions.

Our creative intelligentsia is doing a great deal by their artistic works in unmasking the instigators of World War III and in propagandizing and explaining the consistent peace-loving Leninist policy of the Soviet Union. But, as was stated at the jubilee plenum, there is still much to be done. There must be new talented books, novels, films, performances and musical works which would aid the cause of patriotic, internationalist, military-patriotic indoctrination and would become a major event in the artistic life of the nation and in the development of the multinational Soviet artistic culture.

The workers of Soviet literature and art are the dependable assistants of the Communist Party in shaping the new man, the keen, searching, effective and

NATIONAL

SOVIET ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE EXPLORED

Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 9, Sep 84 (signed to press 21 Aug 84) pp 101-102

[Review by Yu. Todorskiy, candidate of juridical sciences, of book "Administrativno-territorial'noye ustroystvo Sovetskogo gosudarstva" [The Administrative-Territorial Structure of the Soviet State] by M. A. Shafir, "Nauka", Moscow, 1983, 176 pages: "An Important Problem of State Development"]

[Text] Successful realization of the tasks of economic and cultural development set by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the party's central committee are organically linked with further consolidation of the Soviet state, the development of socialist democracy, and perfection of the scientific bases for managing the economic system.

In light of the party decisions, a study of the territorial aspects of administration, including problems of the administrative-territorial structure of the Soviet state, assumes considerable importance. The work by M. A. Shafir also is devoted to this topic.*

The value of the administrative-territorial structure, its principles and system, and the competence of the USSR and union republics in this area are shown in the book's large volume of factual material. The book examines in detail the trends and ways for further development of the administrative-territorial structure of the Soviet public state, taking into account the conditions and requirements of mature socialism.

The author thoroughly analyzes the historical experience of the Land of the Soviets in establishing a new administrative-territorial structure. In the graphic expression of V. I. Lenin, while the bourgeoisie, in coming to power, acquired "a crew that was already experienced," a form prepared beforehand, and machinery tested previously, the proletariat which won power had "neither the crew nor the path, nothing generally, absolutely nothing that had been tried previously." The Communist Party and the Soviet country had to develop and test many state and legal institutions all over again.

*M. A. Shafir, "Administrativno-territorial'noye ustroystvo Sovetskogo gosudarstva," Moscow, "Nauka", 1983, 176 pages, price 1 ruble.

the national question in the form in which it exists under the conditions of developed socialism. After all, it is precisely this area where it is impossible to conduct fruitful work in any way other than on a collectivist, international basis, taking all the minute details of the matter into account."

In the USSR, where there are more than 100 nations and nationalities, their peculiarities also will be taken into account in the future, in the course of improving the administrative-territorial structure which has taken shape and of expanding interrepublic ties. This important condition, the book notes, ensures the equality of rights of nations and nationalities, provides for an accurate accounting of their specific interests and requirements, and ensures further fraternal collaboration and mutual assistance of all peoples and consolidation of the USSR in every possible way.

The author examines the question of the necessity to perfect administrative-territorial division in a developed socialist society. Experience itself and the practice of economic and state management require new solutions in this area so that the existing administrative-territorial structure is based to a greater extent on economic regionalization and that the latter is formed on an objective, scientific basis. Implementation of measures directed at overcoming departmental dissociation, more flexible combination of sectorial and territorial administration, and an increase in the role of soviets of people's deputies should include resolution of territorial problems as well.

In the author's opinion, the establishment of territorial production complexes and industrial centers puts on the agenda the problem of extending the boundaries of oblasts which now exist in the European part of the USSR and the formation of new ones in the region of Siberia and the Far East. Discussion also is proposed on the question of working out new criteria for determining the dimensions of the modern rural rayon and rural soviet.

In evaluating M. A. Shafir's work favorably and in granting the scientific validity which is due to the conclusions and proposals contained in it, one cannot help but note individual inaccuracies as well. As an example, the author maintains that there are no planning organs in economic regions. That is incorrect. They were reestablished on a new organizational basis as far back as 2 years ago. The chairmen of planning commissions of the ispolkoms of kray and oblast soviets located in the territory of the economic region are included in their composition.

For some reason, the book indicates that planning commissions are being formed under the ispolkoms of local soviets, although they are organs of these executive committees. Further, the author proposes that authority to establish and change a city and settlement boundary be assigned to the ispolkoms of oblast soviets. But after all, this authority has belonged to them for many years; this was once again confirmed in the 1970's in the union republics' land codes. Neither can we agree with the author's assertion that establishment of a city boundary is chiefly technical in nature and for this reason does not require "broad consideration of the people's opinion." After all, the question of which territory--city, settlement or rural locality--a citizen lives in is in no way a matter of indifference to him and is not technical.

NATIONAL

LEGAL STATUS OF AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC GOVERNMENTS EXAMINED

Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 9, Sep 84 (signed to press 21 Aug 84) pp 100-101

[Review by A. Atayev, doctor of economic sciences, and G. Gadzhiyev, candidate of juridical sciences, of monograph "Konstitutsionnyye osnovy pravovogo polozheniya Soveta Ministrov ASSR" [Constitutional Bases of the Legal Status of the ASSR Council of Ministers] by R. I. Tarnapol'skiy, Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1983]

[Text] The new constitutions of autonomous republics and the laws on ASSR councils of ministers have raised a number of questions for juridical science concerning the status of an autonomous republic's government. The monograph by R. I. Tarnapol'skiy, "Constitutional Bases of the Legal Status of the ASSR Council of Ministers"*, is devoted to these very questions. Based on laws and other normative documents approved in recent years, the author examines the place of the ASSR council of ministers in the system of state organs of the autonomous republic and analyzes its relationship with USSR and union republic organs, with organizations of higher subordination located in the republic's territory, and with the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies.

In revealing the essence of relations between the ASSR government and its supreme soviet, the author correctly notes that, although the council of ministers is the highest independent executive and administrative organ of state authority in the autonomous republic, it is accountable to its supreme soviet in all its activity. This is reflected in the law consolidating the principle of government's regular accountability to the supreme representative organ of state authority. In this regard, the author directs attention to such an effective form of supervision as a deputy's inquiry addressed to the council of ministers, ministers, and managers of other organs and departments formed by the ASSR supreme soviet.

The author's analysis of the basic forms of relationships between the ASSR council of ministers and organizations of higher subordination, since the Laws on Councils of Ministers of Autonomous Republics do not regulate them in detail,

*R. I. Tarnapol'skiy, "Konstitutsionnyye osnovy pravovogo polozheniya Soveta Ministrov ASSR," Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1983, p 118, price 1 ruble 20 kopecks.

The author also permits individual inaccuracies. For example, he points out that "the council of ministers or a member of the council of ministers is obliged to give an oral or written response at a session of the ASSR supreme soviet within a 3-day period" (p 14). Meanwhile, the constitutions of autonomous republics and the regulations of ASSR supreme soviets contain only the directive that a deputy's inquiry must be presented at a given session of the autonomous republic's supreme soviet.

On the whole, R. I. Tarnapol'skiy's monograph is a serious theoretical study. It is useful not only for scientific and practical workers of the Soviet state apparatus, but everyone interested in nationality state development in the USSR, to read it.

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8936

CSO: 1800/104

NATIONAL

BAPTIST YOUTH CONFERENCE URGES STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

LD211621 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 21 Jan 85

["To Struggle for Peace and Justice"--TASS headline]

[Text] Kiev, 21 Jan (TASS)--Aware of the Christian responsibility for safeguarding life on earth, we urge our churches and particularly youth to wage the struggle for peace and justice, says a statement adopted by participants in a conference of youth secretaries of European Baptist unions which ended in the Ukrainian capital.

The statement says people all over the world celebrate this year the 40th anniversary of peoples' liberation from the fascist yoke which had brought the horror of death and destruction.

The participants in the conference expressed concern over the fact that mankind is now faced with the danger of a still greater catastrophe. The statement urges young people to oppose the forces promoting the arms race, outbreak of nuclear war. Young representatives of Baptist unions of 19 countries proclaimed their approval of agreement on new talks between the USSR and the United States on nuclear and space arms, expressed support for the idea of creating nuclear-free zones in Europe and other parts of the world as an initial step toward general and complete disarmament.

The Kiev meeting of young Baptists has become another step in the solution of most important problems of the present, a TASS correspondent was told by president of the Youth Committee of the European Baptist Federation (EBF), Uwe Kuhne of the FRG.

He stressed that the success of the conference had been largely promoted by the excellent conditions created for its holding in the Ukrainian capital.

Participants in the conference were present at services for Baptist congregations of Kiev. They inspected the exposition of the memorial complex "The Ukrainian State Museum of History of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945," saw architectural and historic monuments of the ancient city on the Dnieper.

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will arrive in the schools is still only hypothetical," the article continues. "The numbers and prospects are as follows: in the next 5 year period, we are planning to organize computer centers (a local network of 15-20 IBM personal computers) in 200 high schools and 300 educational-production complexes. By the year 2000, we plan to create 70,000 computer centers which will provide computer education to all high schools and all the professional and technical colleges." The article expresses the opinion that this time span is much too long.

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The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, government, as well as local party, administrative, trade union, and Komsomol organizations are persistently working to fulfill the socioeconomic development plans traced by the 26th CPSU Congress, our party's Central Committee plenums, and the 26th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress.

Having noted that the republic's Central Statistical Administration would shortly publish in detail the results of the work performed in 1984, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy touched upon some most important issues.

In industry, production and labor productivity were growing at significantly higher rates than planned, and their absolute increase was higher than in any other year of the current 5-year period. The value of production marketed in excess of the plan totaled R2 billion, and the increased labor productivity accounted for 85 percent of the increase in production. In the current 5-year period, these indexes were the highest, too.

All production facilities and projects of importance were put into operation. The plans were overfulfilled for the commissioning of houses, children's preschool establishments, general-education and vocational schools, hospitals, and polyclinics.

Although, in agriculture, last year was not very generous, the republic obtained the highest volume of overall production. The output of grain increased, and the plans for procuring stockbreeding produce were overfulfilled. Compared with 1983, the procurements of meat rose by 127,000 tons, those of milk by 342,000 tons, and those of eggs by 207 million. This has made it possible to increase the market stocks of these types of produce.

However, we view the situation in a realistic way, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy said, we evaluate the results attained critically, and we can see reserves that have not been utilized. There are no grounds, and of course must not be any, for complacency.

/The main task now confronting party organizations and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee is to mobilize all communists and all working people for successful and intensive work in the current year. Positive trends in economic development are to be consolidated and strengthened, and a firm foundation is to be provided for fulfilling the plans of the 12th 5-year period.

Speaking in more specific terms, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee noted, the impending tasks can be briefly formulated in the following way. In addition to constant concern for strengthening low-level cells organizationally and politically and for keeping party ranks clean, party organizations must concentrate their efforts:

/--in production collectives--/ on the fulfillment of the socialist pledges adopted;

/--in the sphere of services--/ on improvements in the quality and efficiency of services;

It is evident that the problem is still acute. Some efforts are being made to settle it. But they are clearly insufficient. For example, the city enterprises are very slow in introducing robots and manipulators.

However, Kiev is the location of the Cybernetics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, which ranks among the country's largest, the poly-technical, construction, and other institutes, as well as many branch scientific research organizations. Concentrated in Kiev, there is a large complex of industrial enterprises supplying tools and electronic equipment. Their collectives can and should contribute a substantial share in accomplishing tasks connected with the reduction of manual labor. Things are also going badly in the field of applying computing equipment, and this fact calls for appropriate measures.

/Point two,/ a basically new attitude must be taken toward the economy of material resources. After all, at the present stage of national economic development thrift in material outlays is an important factor to ensure production growth, a condition indispensable to cope with the planned targets, and an important guideline for rational management. Each basic party organization should possess a clear-cut plan for fulfilling the pledge adopted by labor collectives--to work at least 2 days in the current year on saved resources.

/Moreover,/ particular attention is to be paid to the utilization of the results of completed scientific-technical papers. It is no secret that, in the "science-production" chain, this is still the weakest spot.

As is known, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has set the task: toward the end of the 12th 5-Year Plan period, to increase the obtained economic effect at least 50 percent rapidly developing and applying in the national economy progressive technologies and new equipment, to bring it to a total of R4.5-5 billion annually, and to save R1.8-2 billion by applying inventions and rationalizing proposals.

This goal is fully feasible. The republic possesses great possibilities and reserves for attaining it. After all, many technical innovations have been applied only at individual enterprises. Some papers by Kiev scientists, papers that have already proved to be highly effective--for example, the methods of diffusion, vacuum, and plasma spray-coating, and some others--have found no broad application even in Kiev enterprises and associations. Out of the 49 academic scientific institutions located in Kiev, only 19 are participating in carrying out city programs. Apparently, both in institutes and at industrial enterprises there are still leaders who pay lip service to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, but do next to nothing for it.

/Party organizations--each in its sector--must significantly intensify their work to hasten the application of scientific and technical achievements, rationalizing proposals, and leading experience/. We have everything needed for this purpose.

Of course, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy continued, all matters which should be constantly attended to by party organizations to turn the republic's capital into a city of highly productive labor, high efficiency, and model public order cannot be exhausted even in a lengthy speech.

/The main point is that to successfully accomplish the tasks set, we must first of all raise the effectiveness of organizational and political educational work in basic party organizations on which our party stands. Second, we need a serious psychological change in approach to the matter at hand, to the style and methods of work performed by our cadres, above all by the leading ones./

Unfortunately, while settling cadre problems individual superior bodies to not always lend an ear to the opinion of basic party organizations, and sometimes even disregard it. This is the reason why some enterprises, organizations, and projects are run for years by people who are unfit for this purpose, while the talented and promising find, as they say, no chance. The point is to always have an effective cadres reserve, primarily in the basic, decisive, and particularly in lagging sectors.

/The city's party organizations are expected to pay more attention to--and must exert real and effective influence on--the selection, distribution, and education of cadres,/ particularly of the middle-bracket ones--shop and section chiefs, foremen, and brigade leaders. After all, they are in charge of the sectors that determine the destinies of the plans, realize the ideas of scientists and designers, and shape the final result.

We must also increase the responsibility of leading functionaries, particularly of communists, for the discharge of their duties, and must bring to strict account those found guilty of indifference, mismanagement, and the more so those guilty of abuses, of infringements upon the rules of party and public life. In this respect, our position is unambiguous: in party ranks, and the more so in leading posts, there must be no room for those who infringe on these rules, who place the interests of personal prosperity above the interests of the party and our society.

Today, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, we must also touch upon a sector as important as that of /ideological and political education work./ After the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, a great deal has been done to raise its effectiveness. But let us be frank, there things are also still a long way from being satisfactory.

First of all, the gap between propaganda and agitation on the one hand, and life with its basic, real problems on the other, still has not been bridged everywhere. After all, the purpose of propaganda and educational work is not to take as many measures as possible, to deliver many speeches, and to display many posters and slogans, but to set in motion the creative forces inherent in the labor and political activity of the masses, and to achieve a concrete improvement in matters.

Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy then briefly touched upon questions concerning the present /international situation,/ and noted the great importance of A. A. Gromyko's meeting with the U.S. secretary of state. The first step has been made--during the meeting, the subject and objectives of the forthcoming talks were examined.

The Soviet Union is prepared to conduct these talks on an equal and realistic basis, is in favor of a constructive dialogue, and is for reaching agreements that would be in line with the interests of both countries and that would radically lower the level of confrontation.

The guarantee of peace lies not only in a weighed, realistic foreign policy and in the struggle waged for it by the wide public, but also in the highly productive work performed by all our people to strengthen the economic and defense potential of their homeland.

/Party organizations have the duty to systematically and profoundly explain our party's domestic and foreign policy, the principled line taken by the Soviet Union to avert a nuclear war, discontinue the arms race, prevent the militarization of outer space, improve the international climate, and raise the prosperity of the people./

At the end Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy said: The communists have invested in each of us, comrades, great confidence. To spearhead a party organization is a difficult and painstaking job implying enormous responsibility and at the same time a great honor. After all, it is no secret at all: The entire situation in the labor collective largely depends on the qualities of the party bureau or party committee secretary as a functionary, an organizer, an educator and, if you want, as a personality; it depends on the work of the bureau and the party committee.

About one-fifth of the comrades present in the hall have for the first time been elected secretaries in their party organizations. They must be told not only /what/ is to be done and /when/, but without fail must also be told and shown /how/ it is to be done.

It is important to value and save the time of party organization secretaries, because we are all constantly short of time. It is a duty of senior colleagues, raykoms, gorkoms, obkoms, and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to help young functionaries turn into authentic party leaders.

Allow me, esteemed comrades, to wish you, all communists and working people of the hero city of Kiev, success in completing the plans for the current 5-year period and meeting our Leninist party's 27th congress in a worthy way.

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The conference was addressed by the following chairmen of party commissions of gorkoms and raykoms: G. Shatvoryan (Yerevan), G. Arakelyan (Leninakan), A. Grigoryan (Koris), N. Stepanyan (Ichevan), L. Melkumyan (Yerevan Orchonikidze Rayon), A. Shashikyan (Abovyan), D. Movsesyan (Stepanavan), A. Gevorgyan (Echmiadzin), and E. Arutyunyan (Oktemberyan).

Conference results were summed up by G. Voskanyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Comrade G. Voskanyan talked about the concrete tasks of the party commissions toward the perfection of developed socialism, outlined the need for further improvement in the style and methods of control work, and the expansion of its precautionary potential, and referred to the ardent questions pertaining to increasing the standard of supervision by party committees over activities of the commissions. Conference participants assured the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee that the party control members are determined to justify the party's great trust in them, to establish appropriate party and state law and order in all public production locations and all sectors of life activity, and to make their worthwhile contribution to the struggle for the successful fulfillment of the 11th 5-Year Plan targets.

The conference was attended by L. Saakyan, candidate member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chief of the Central Committee's organizational party work department, and M. Davtyan, chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee administrative organs department.

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and R67 million worth of output over the plan will be sold. The industrial output volume will increase by 4 percent compared to 1983 figures, and during the 4 years of the 5-year plan period will increase by 18.4 percent against the projected 14.8 percent.

The achievements will be further reinforced in 1985. The state plan for the last year of the 5-year plan period projects the stable progress of national economy, the speed-up of scientific and technical progress, the intensification of production and raising of its efficiency, the constant realization of the food program, and the further promotion of the people's standard of living. The industrial production volume of the city will increase by 3.9 percent next year, basically through fuller and more rational use of the production capabilities and increased labor productivity.

In 1985, R606.8 million will be allocated to the city's national economy from all financing sources. Of this, R329 million will be allocated for the construction of production installations.

The most important social issue which is being constantly resolved in the city is housing construction. Plans are to commission 450,500 square meters of residential area, or 6.8 percent more than in 1984, during the next year. A total of R70 million from all financing sources will be allocated to the city soviet executive committee for this purpose. The construction of "Davdashen" residential area will begin and the construction of the seventh, eighth, and ninth sections of the Nork District will continue. The city's electric transport will further develop. Plans are to extend the tramway and trolleybus lines by 19 km. Through the commissioning of "Shengavit" station the overall length of the Yerevan subway will increase by 1.5 km. The heat supply chain will expand considerably. Over 59,000 houses will be supplied with hot water, 15.1 percent more than in 1984.

Work will be carried out to improve the city water supply. The construction will continue of the two pipelines transporting water from Ararat field to the city. The length of the water pipelines and sewages will increase by over 63 km.

The network of schools and juvenile and preschool establishments will increase notably. Plans are to commission schools next year to accommodate 7,734 students and kindergartens for 3,310 children. A total of R14.9 million will be allocated for health care development. The number of hospital beds will increase by 1,224 places. Extensive work will be carried out to reform the city and expand the trade and consumers services installations network.

The city's agriculture will develop basically through the increase of production from cultivated crops, organized work, and the rational use of technology. In 1985 gross volume of agricultural products output will stand at R28.5 million.

The session unanimously adopted a decision on the "Yerevan 1985 socioeconomic development plan and the fulfillment of the 1984 state plan." The 1985 budget for Yerevan City and the account on the fulfillment of the 1983 budget were established.

The Yerevan city soviet session was attended by Comrades B. Sarkisov, L. Nersessyan, and R. Arzumanyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

Our church and entire people particularly the Armenian SSR citizens will commemorate the 70th anniversary of the great genocide in conditions of peace and security, strengthened with national awareness, new patriotic achievements and creative work, new songs, and hopes toward our brighter and just future.

When we commemorate the great tragedy of our people we must keep the hostile spirit or the thought of extremist acts away from us. Our sole spiritual drive should be to pray for the souls of our 2 million martyrs and demand justice as well as the wish that such tragedies will not be repeated in the life of any nation. To forget the tragedies of the past will mean to weaken and obscure the memory of the humanity, obliterate history, distort the truth, and strangle the voice of justice. It will pave the way for new tragedies and future genocides.

The strict judgment of the past tragedies, the revelation of the truth of the sad events of history and the loud and free sounding of the voice of justice; these are the strong bases for the construction of a new world where the children of all nations will reach the awareness that they are the children of the same God, are the citizens of the same world, and that all have the same destiny. The destiny of man, nations, and the world particularly after today will be one fact, one imperative, and one future. Only with this knowledge will the world people be able to unitedly pray.

In the great family of fraternal nationalities let our reborn people and flourishing fatherland grow and develop freely and happily through the path of constant construction and flourishing always with songs and light, peace, and happiness.

From the Mother See of all Armenians in holy Echmiadzin we greet and bless our entire apostolic church and religious people with the great news of the holy Christmas. Happy New Year. "Christ was born and revealed." Amen.

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the unification of all progressive forces in a positive resolution of the most important political problems of social development. They claim that in order to preserve the peace; peoples, nations, and national-ethnic groups must unite under the banner of Islam regardless of their culture, race, language, worldview, ideological belief, or connection with religion and that if there is a single drawing power providing this very unity and unanimity, it can only and exclusively be the Islamic religion and the "just Islamic society." In this respect clericalist Islamic anticommunists echo their Western colleagues, the Catholic clericalists. Just such a reactionary thesis was first put forth by the Catholic Church and its teachings, or to be more accurate, by the Roman Pope John Paul II.

But at the same time they do not even utter a word about how the reactionary circles of international imperialism headed by the USA threaten humanity with a nuclear war, about how they seek to achieve hegemony on the sea, on the land, and in space, about how they cause a thousand and one catastrophes in Latin America and in the Near and Middle East, and about how they have grossly violated the ordinary norms of international law, because this is not in their interests and does not profit them any. They fear that by such a thing they may be subjected to the economic anger and wrath of their "uncles" and colleagues in the West.

For their part, the ruling circles of Western imperialism headed by the USA are giving special significance to making use of Islam in order to preserve their influence in Eastern countries and to halt the ideas of socialism and communism. And thus Islamic clericalism emerges as the same kind of thing as Christian clericalist anticommunism. Bourgeois ideologists, including bourgeois scholars of religion, and those same apologists who have taken on as an obligation the task of defending Islam from "the danger of materialism," from "communist and Soviet aggression," and from "state, communist, red, or political atheism" are holding special "scientific" conferences and congresses dedicated to the defense, glorification, and praise of Islam. The first sponsors, so to speak, of this in the East are the Islamic Conference. This organization has put forth the concept of a "renaissance in Islam." In this concept the idealization of Islam, above all, serves its goals of political and ideological struggle. Apropos of this, we would like to discuss another matter here. And that is that the concept of a "renaissance in Islam" is on the one hand not very much in the interests of the imperialist circles of the West, because the notion is opposed to the Western-style developmental model and to Christianity. But on the other hand it harbors the aim of creating a "political opposition" of believing Muslims against Soviet construction and of inflaming religious and nationalistic feelings. It is this idea in particular that attracts confirmed anti-Soviets. The American bourgeois Islamicists (Diana) and (Spirme) /as transliterated/ in their work "The Muslims of Russia" write about what

is the sworn enemy of the Iranian people. This can be shown clearly from the following facts: according to the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR published in the USA, Iran in recent years has begun to establish close financial ties with the United States. The Islamic Republic of Iran has paid off the debt to 25 U.S. banks and nearly 100 financial institutions incurred in connection with the Iranian revolution. The exports of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USA in just 10 months of 1983 were \$932,000,000, or double the figure in 1982. The religious leadership of the Iranian Islamic Republic obtains many weapons from the USA via South Korea, West Germany, and other third countries. In 1983, alone, the Islamic Republic of Iran obtained \$30,000,000 worth of arms from the USA. The Iran-Iraq War, begun under the instigation of the USA, is without a doubt to the benefit of international imperialism. This can also be shown clearly from the following facts. The USA has brought its own naval and air forces to the Persian Gulf to ensure its "vital interests" and "free shipping" there, it has established its own military bases in this region, and in this way it has found the most appropriate opportunity to take aggressive measures against the national liberation movement and against social progress in the Near and Middle East.

The ruling clericalist circles of the Islamic Republic of Iran are also against democratic Afghanistan. By defending the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, the religious authoriites of Iran and Pakistan stand at the same front as the USA and international imperialism, the implacable enemy of Afghanistan's April revolution. As can be seen, the Islamic clericalists who come out under the banner of religion are carrying out a policy contrary to the interests of the working people. It is no accident that the reactionary views of clericalist anticommunists whether adhering to Christianity or to Islam are always objectively criticized by our party.

In the materials of the June 1983 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it is stated that the numerous ideological centers of imperialism are not merely content with defending religion, but are demonstrating zeal in lending it an anti-Soviet and anticommunist direction. It is also possible to express this opinion about the clericalist Islamic anticommunists in the full sense. Reactionary Islamic clericalists defend international imperialism by every means. Summing up what has been said, it is possilbe to conclude that contemporary clericalist Islamic anticommunists disavow the class struggle of the working people for social progress, oppose the participation of believers and clergymen in the national liberation movement, and distort the teachings of Marxism and real socialism. Thus religion, including Islam, has in the full sense relinquished itself to the service of imperialism, reaction, apartheid, and Zionism.

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REGIONAL

KNOWLEDGE OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE FOR LITHUANIANS JUSTIFIED

Vilnius VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS in Lithuanian 11 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by J. Siupsinskas: "If You Have Learned the Word, Then You Know the Road"]

[Text] During the longer fall nights we among other things play with the radio dial. What voices is the world filled with! For example, here a sympathetic voice is heard saying in Lithuanian that you are working hard, however someone is cheating you out of the benefits obtained by your labor. For you, there in the Soviet Union, there is a shortage of this and that... You, because of hard work, still have this and that, but it soon will be taken from you. Thus they cram and cram your head day and night. Only after a while you realize that these sympathetic voices want to incite and cause quarrels in a harmoniously living family.

Being aware that every nation has an attachment to the culture of its forefathers, esteems its history and traditions, and values its native language, they whine at Lithuania with sharpened tongues and sympathetic voices: "You, dear countrymen, Lithuanians, under the guise of a great and make believe love toward those living in the embrace of the Soviet Union, they are slowly being smothered and denationalized..." This, in their thinking, affects us the most and creates different feelings.

And here I have to remind you that I have written articles ("Let's Talk Openly," "Let's Talk Openly Again") in VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS about bilingualism and that for the nations of the Soviet Union, of which there are very many, the Russian language is an adhesive and connecting material. Like cement. Other widespread world languages are also suitable for interaction: English, German, French, and Spanish. I, however, have great success in communicating in Russian with a Ukrainian or a Georgian. I was very happy when translators first translated Juozas Baltusis' novel "A Story About Juze" into Russian and not some other language: the entire Soviet land found out immediately how hardworking Juze, the man from Lithuanian countryside, is.

I also wrote in other publications about the necessity of mastering the Russian language. So, in the course of performing journalistic work, I once in a while hear rebukes from friends and acquaintances. One hears,

The person listens and says nothing; there is nothing to say since he sees that the Soviet government has no reason to take away his national identity. Ghosts appeared before him as if he were a small child in an empty house at nightfall...

Nature takes care of itself according to its own laws. No one deliberately invented new languages--some wore away and disappeared and others appeared. There are many old nations which do not understand and know the languages which their direct forebears spoke and wrote in. And we can't tell how our offspring and descendants will speak after a thousand years. But there is one thing we must know up-front: all languages which we have inherited have the right to live and unfold as something special, a phenomenon, a manifestation of man's spirituality. If such a diversity exists, then it is necessary. And in the Soviet Union where according to historical circumstances the diversity of people is very great, the Russian language best helps everyone to interact with one another.

Professor Kostas Navickas in the 5th issue of 1982 MUSU KALBA wrote the article "Leninist Nationality Policy of the USSR During Conditions of Mature Socialism," which was published not by accident and to wit--during the 60th year of the establishment of the Soviet Union. Here we find quotations from Lenin. We also find extracts from the monograph "Sources and Future of the Standard Russian Language," written by the famous Russian linguist F. Filin, wherein he writes that only when mankind reaches communism, the highest stage in its development, "there will begin the blending of nations into one unified family of people and the nation as an historical category will cease to exist. When and how this will occur is difficult to determine. One thing is clear: the process of disappearance of nations will be long. Many centuries and possibly a thousand years will pass." And finally, F. Filin concludes: "Language is such a specific nationality trait that it can be lost only at the very end."

Let's yet look at a citation of another author--Kazimeras Garsva--found in the same issue of MUSU KALBA: "In the area of education as in other spheres, the linguistic and cultural needs of different nationalities is taken into consideration. According to the 1979 census data, 80 percent of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian SSR were Lithuanians, 8.9 percent--Russians, 7.3 percent--Poles, and 3.8 percent other nationalities. According to the data of the Ministry of Education, 84.4 percent of the pupils in 1981-1982 attending general education schools studied in the Lithuanian language, 13.1 percent in Russian, and 2.5 percent in the Polish language. There were 1,919 schools in the Lithuanian SSR where the language of instruction was Lithuanian, 98--Russian, and 54--Polish."

The mere fact that these important topics are discussed openly in our Soviet press indicates that the Soviet state and its government is not setting out to denationalize the smaller nationalities by giving special advantages to the larger ones. This is just a fabrication of provocateurs. All of us who are non-Russians and speakers of other languages have no reason to quarrel, and are seeking ways and means to preserve harmony, friendship, and concord in our common home. How extraordinary are the teachings of V. Lenin, on

REGIONAL

KASSR CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS INDUSTRY BOARD MEETS

[Editorial Reports] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 16 January 1985 carries on page 3 a 200-word KazTAG report entitled "Construction Industry--to a New Step of Development" on the 15 January 1985 expanded session of the KaSSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry board. The accomplishments of 1984 and the measures being taken to fulfill the plan for economic and social development for 1985 were discussed. O. M. Beysenov, minister of the construction materials industry and other speakers noted that last year's goals for the production of slate, asbestos cement pipes, soft roofing and other materials were reached. However, it was noted that the ministry has been deficient in a number of areas, including the production of cement and of building materials. In order to compensate for this, the implementation of new technology and the strengthening of worker discipline was recommended. Ye. F. Brashmakov, secretary of the KaSSR CP Central Committee, and V. Ya. Sidorov, deputy minister of the USSR Construction Materials Industry addressed the session.

UZBEK PROCURACY ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES, WORK WITH YOUTH

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 December 1984 carries on page 2 a 100-word UzTAG announcement of a meeting on 24 December in the Uzbek SSR procuracy on the topic of interdepartmental coordination of the work of the republic's law enforcement and environmental protection organs. At the meeting there was a discussion of measures for further improvement between departments, ministries, and organs of control in organizing the struggle against violations of laws protecting the environment. At the same meeting ways of improving work with youth were discussed.

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REGIONAL

ARMENIAN SENIORS POLLED BY SOCIOLOGIST

[Editorial Report] Yerevan KOMMUNIST on 29 December 1984 carries on page 2 an 800-word article by R. Pogosyan, candidate, philosophy of sciences, entitled "What the Letters Said...." The article reviews the results of a questionnaire administered to graduating seniors (10th graders) in a letter form. The questionnaire focused on the upper classmen's views of the future and what they planned to do after graduation. The most startling conclusion derived from their answers, Pogosyan writes, is the lack of prestige for trade schools. "A technical diploma should carry the same social value in the eyes of the young as a higher education diploma," he writes. Schools and social institutions have an obligation to foster positive views regarding youths studying the trades. Parents must be included in the process of developing correct views on trade schools, since they are extremely influential in the student's choice of study after high school, he adds. There is a shift in the proffered course of study among today's graduating students. Where earlier the most popular choices were in the area of physics-math and technical sciences, today the focus is on socio-humanitarian subjects. The most absorbing questions are "political questions, the international situation, maintaining world peace, and world-wide disarmament (more than 100 respondents)." Many expressed a desire for improvement in various aspects of urban life, which indicates a mature socio-political level of awareness among the young, notes the author. Moral concerns were prominently expressed by the young respondents--questions on the relationships between generations, family, school, love and children. The author reports that the questionnaire underscored the students' basic lack of a sense of right and wrong. "Their level of a sense of justice leaves something to be desired," he writes. He concludes the article by suggesting that social opinion polls are most effective when they are conducted and studied by sociologists, psychologists and educators.

CSO: 1838/34

REGIONAL

USMANKHODZHAYEV SPEAKS AT NEW POLITICAL AWARENESS COURSE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 January 1985 carries on page 1 a 200-word unsigned article titled "Cadre Training" which notes that Uzbek CP Central Committee First Secretary Usmankhodzhayev lectured to the 5 January charter meeting of the newly-founded school of the party management aktiv in Tashkent. The school was founded in accordance with a resolution of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee on improving the Marxist-Leninist training of management cadres. It will be attended by leaders of the departments of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Uzbek Council of Ministers, secretaries of the Tashkent Oblast, city, and rayon party committees, ministers and chairmen of state committees and their deputies, members of collegiums, leaders of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and its scholarly institutions, artistic unions, newspapers, journals, publishing houses, television, radio and other republic organizations, leading workers of the Uzbek Labor Union, Komsomol Central Committee, chairmen of the Tashkent Oblast Executive Committee and the city executive committee as well as their deputies, editors, partorg secretaries, and social sciences department heads of Tashkent VUZes. The course includes a series of lectures on topical problems of the republic's social and economic life and a conference to draw conclusions.

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NAMANGAN POLICE BATTLE FOREIGN EMBLEMS ON CARS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 18 January 1985 carries on page 4 a 200-word article by N. Shamsutdinov, chief of the state auto inspection, administration of internal affairs of the Namangan (Uzbekistan) Oblast executive committee, titled "Kitsch on Wheels." The author describes the results of a safety inspection in which over 2,000 drivers were ordered to bring their vehicles into conformance with the Rules of Traffic. Though the passion to decorate the interior of cars has abated, says the author, a new "epidemic" has infected the owners of private vehicles: car windows are now sporting emblems and inscriptions of foreign origin. "What, at first glance, is the significance of the harmless sign 'Inturist' in the Roman alphabet? Worship of all things foreign? Many of those stopped by the auto inspection workers were unable to say what the signs in their car windows meant."

USMANKHODZHAYEV AT TASHKENT OBLAST KOMSOMOL CONFERENCE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 20 January 1985 carries on page 1 a 400-word UzTAG article titled "Raising Komsomol Work to a New Level." Uzbek CP CC First Secretary Usmankhodzhayev addressed the Tashkent Oblast election conference of Komsomol members on 19 January in Tashkent. At the meeting praise for the organization's work was voiced as well as criticism of the fact that the Uzbek Komsomol does not always react adequately to new tendencies among youth, that insufficient measures had been taken to improve labor and production discipline, cadre selection, and charged the republic Komsomol with devoting special attention to work in the areas of the corn harvest, the mechanization of labor, increasing the cotton yield and improvement of its quality, actively involving youth in accelerating scientific technical progress, and increasing the productivity and quality of labor. Participating in the conference were: Chairman of the Usbek SSR KGB V. A. Golovin, pilot-cosmonaut and twice hero of the Soviet Union V. A. Dzhaniyev, first secretary of the Tashkent city gorkom U. U. Umarov, and first secretary of the Tashkent party obkom M. M. Musakhanov. Parallel meetings of oblast komsomol organizations were held throughout the republic.

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